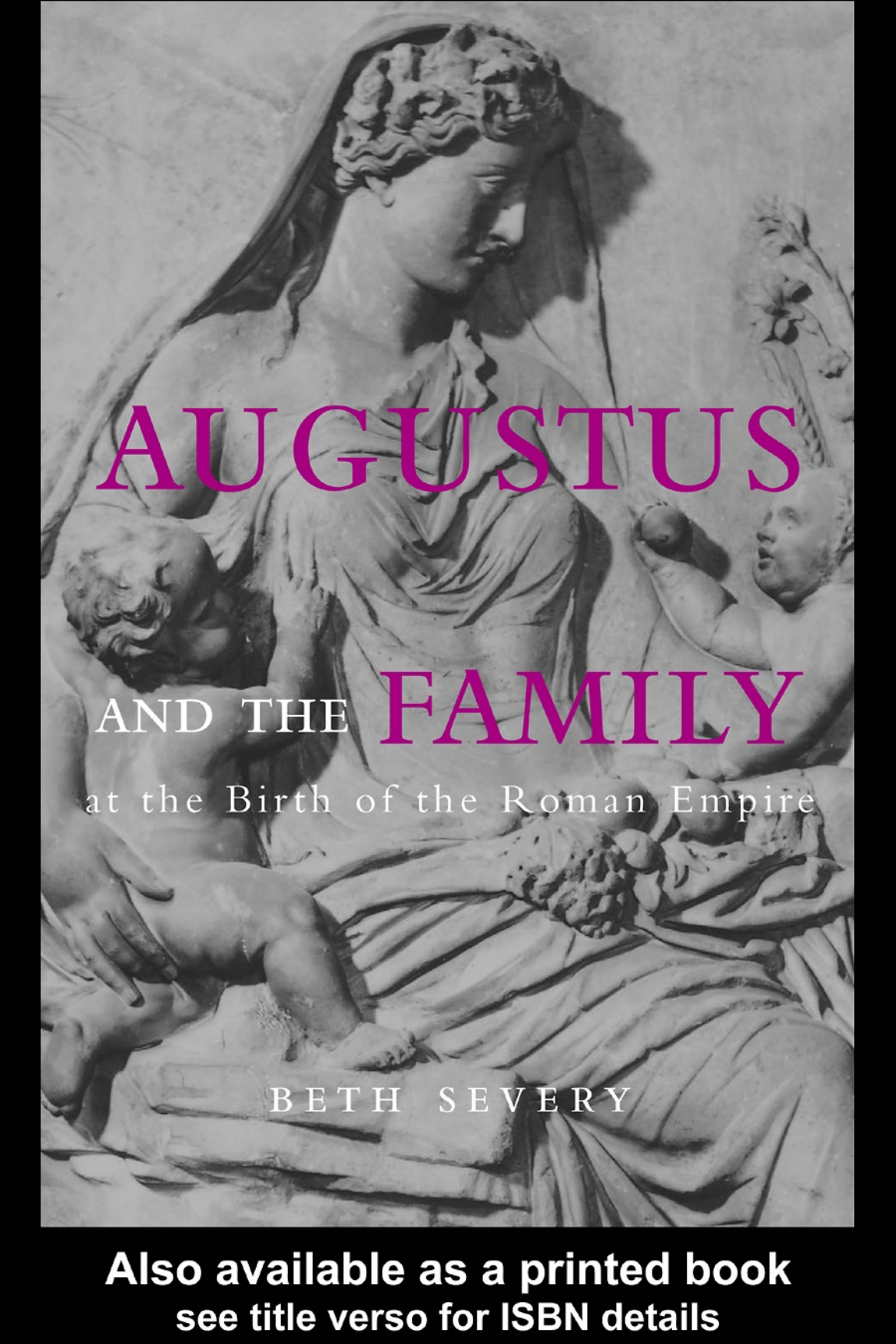


A black and white photograph of a marble relief sculpture depicting Augustus and his family. Augustus is the central figure, seated and looking down at a child on his left. To his right, another child is shown holding an apple. The sculpture is highly detailed, showing the textures of the clothing and the features of the figures.

AUGUSTUS

AND THE FAMILY

at the Birth of the Roman Empire

BETH SEVERY

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ROMAN EMPIRE

Beth Severy

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FOR MY FAMILY

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ABBREVIATIONS

- AE** *Année épigraphique. Revue des publications épigraphiques relatives à l'antiquité romaine.* Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1888–.
BCH *Bulletin de correspondance Hellénique.* Paris: de Boccard, 1877–.
BMC *British Museum Catalogue of Coins of the Roman Empire,* 1923–.
CIL *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum,* 1881–.
DCIP *Catalog in Dynastic Commemoration and Imperial Portraiture in the Julio-Claudian Period,* edited by Charles Brian Rose. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997.
DGCN *Documents Illustrating the Principates of Gaius, Claudius and Nero,* edited by E. Mary Smallwood. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967.
EJ *Documents Illustrating the Reigns of Augustus and Tiberius,* edited by Victor Ehrenberg and A. H. M. Jones. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955.
ET *Études Thasiennes.* École Française d'Athènes. Paris: de Boccard, 1944.
IG *Inscriptiones Graecae,* 1873–.
IGR *Inscriptiones Graecae ad Res Romanas Pertinentes,* edited by R. Cagnat *et al.* Rome: L'Erma di Bretschneider, 1964.
II *Inscriptiones Italiae. Fasti et Elogia.* Volume XIII, edited by Attilio Degrassi. Rome: Istituto Poligrafico dello Stato, 1963.
ILLRP *Inscriptiones Latinae Liberae Rei Publicae,* vols. I–II, edited by Attilio Degrassi. Rome: Istituto Poligrafico dello Stato, 1965, 1963.
ILS *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae,* edited by Hermann Dessau. Chicago: Ares, 1979.
OGIS *Orientis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae,* 1840–.
ORF *Oratorum romanorum fragmenta,* edited by E. Malcovati, 4th edn. Turin, 1976.
RE *Paulys Realencyclopädie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft,* edited by Georg Wissowa, Wilhelm Kroll, and Karl Mittelhaus. Munich: Alfred Druckenmüller, 1893–.

ABBREVIATIONS

- RIC* *The Roman Imperial Coinage*. Vols I–IX, edited by Harrold Mattingly *et al.* London: Spink and Son, 1923–67; vol. I, revised edn, ed. C. H. V. Sutherland and R. A. G. Carson, 1984.
- RPC* *Roman Provincial Coinage*, edited by Andrew M. Burnett, Michel Amandry, and Pere Pau Ripollès. London: British Museum Press, 1992.
- RRC* *Roman Republican Coinage*, edited by Michael Crawford. London: Strike and Son, 1974.
- SEG* *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*, 1923–.
- SIG* *Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecorum*, 3rd edn, edited by W. Dittenberger. Lipsiae: S. Hirzelium, 1915–24.

INTRODUCTION

The Roman republic and the Roman empire – this historical division separates volumes of textbooks, determines course offerings at universities, and is featured in most time lines of western and even world civilization. The facts of the change from one system to another appear simple. At the end of the first century B.C.E. the republic collapsed in a series of civil wars. Octavian, the adopted heir of Julius Caesar, emerged as final victor in 30 B.C.E., changed his name to Augustus, and became the first emperor. Augustus founded the imperial system, which passed successfully to his chosen heir upon his death in 14 C.E. But how did it really happen? How, in less than half a century, was a 500-year-old oligarchic system replaced by a new and stable imperial government, which itself lasted centuries? What is the nature of the change in the *res publica*, literally, “the public thing,” between the Roman republic and the empire?

Recently, scholars have tried to understand this transformation of Rome under Augustus by exploring the impact of contemporary art and ceremony,¹ the purposes of Augustan legislation,² and the nature of Augustus’ legal powers in the state.³ However, Augustus was not celebrated alone in official art and ceremony. As has been illuminated by important new studies,⁴ various men

1 Paul Zanker, *The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus*, trans. Alan Shapiro (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1988); Karl Galinsky, *Augustan Culture: An Interpretive Introduction* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996).

2 Pál Csillag, *The Augustan Laws on Family Relations*, trans. József Decsényi (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1976); Elizabeth Rawson, “Discrimina Ordinum,” *Papers of the British School at Rome* 55 (1987): 83–114; Catherine Edwards, *The Politics of Immorality in Ancient Rome* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 34–62.

3 W. Eder, “Augustus and the Power of Tradition: The Augustan Principate as Binding Link between Republic and Empire,” in *Between Republic and Empire. Interpretations of Augustus and his Principate*, eds Kurt A. Raaflaub and Mark Toher (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), 71–122; C. Meier, “C. Caesar Divi filius and the Formation of the Alternative in Rome,” in *Between Republic and Empire*, 54–70; P. A. Brunt, “The Role of the Senate in the Augustan Regime,” *Classical Quarterly* 34 (1984): 423–44.

4 Charles Brian Rose, *Dynastic Commemoration and Imperial Portraiture in the Julio-Claudian Period*

and women of his family received unprecedented public commemoration, and he himself was often presented as the head of a family. Moreover, imperial power came to be inherited. Given these circumstances, we need to expand the scope of our investigation of this period to include not just the status and activities of Augustus, but the status and activities of his family as well.

Such a project is called for even more due to the recent explosion of research on the Roman family. In the last two decades, several important collections,⁵ articles,⁶ and monographs⁷ have made significant progress in outlining the composition and dynamics of the Roman family in the classical period. In the context of social history, however, evidence tends to be treated synchronically, and thus the Roman family is often studied as if unchanging over the period of our most abundant evidence, from 200 B.C.E. to 200 C.E.⁸ Moreover, the well-known actions of members of the imperial family tend to be cited as evidence for typical Roman behavior.⁹ Should the family which became a state institution be taken as characteristic of Roman families? Did the unprecedented and elaborate public commemoration of the family of Augustus affect how other aristocrats conceived of and presented their family relationships? What

(Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997); Ann Kuttner, *Dynasty and Empire in the Age of Augustus: The Case of the Boscoreale Cups* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995); Elizabeth Bartman, *Portraits of Livia. Imaging the Imperial Woman in Augustan Rome* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999); Susan E. Wood, *Imperial Women. A Study in Public Images*, 40 B.C.–A.D. 68. Mnemosyne Supplementum 194 (Leiden: Brill, 1999); Marleen Boudreau Flory, "Dynastic Ideology, the *Domus Augusta*, and Imperial Women: A Lost Statuary Group in the Circus Flaminius," *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 126 (1996): 287–306.

5 Beryl Rawson, ed., *The Family in Ancient Rome. New Perspectives* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1986); Beryl Rawson, ed., *Marriage, Divorce and Children in Ancient Rome* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991); David I. Kertzer and Richard P. Saller, eds, *The Family in Italy from Antiquity to the Present* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1991); Beryl Rawson and Paul Weaver, eds, *The Roman Family in Italy: Status, Sentiment, Space* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997).

6 E.g., Mireille Corbier, "Constructing Kinship in Rome: Marriage and Divorce, Filiation and Adoption," in *The Family in Italy from Antiquity to the Present*, eds David I. Kertzer and Richard P. Saller (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1991), 127–44; Richard P. Saller, "Symbols of Gender and Status Hierarchies in the Roman Household," in *Women and Slaves in Greco-Roman Culture. Differential Equations*, eds Sandra R. Joshel and Sheila Murnaghan (London: Routledge, 1998), 85–91; Annalisa Rei, "Villains, Wives, and Slaves in the Comedies of Plautus," in *Women and Slaves in Greco-Roman Culture*, 92–108.

7 Suzanne Dixon, *The Roman Mother* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1988) and *The Roman Family* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992); Susan Treggiari, *Roman Marriage: Iusti Coniuges from the Time of Cicero to the Time of Ulpian* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991); John K. Evans, *War, Women, and Children in Ancient Rome* (London: Routledge, 1991); K. R. Bradley, *Discovering the Roman Family* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991); Richard P. Saller, *Patriarchy, Property and Death in the Roman Family* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994); Jane F. Gardner, *Family and Familia in Roman Law and Life* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998).

8 Notable exceptions include Corbier, "Constructing Kinship," Saller, *Patriarchy*, 74–101, and Bradley, *Discovering the Roman Family*, 156–76.

9 E.g., Bradley, *Discovering the Roman Family*, 37–8; Dixon, *Roman Mother*, 132.

were the consequences of the developing imperial system for the Romans' understanding of "family" and "state," and what were the effects of the nature of the Roman family on that developing imperial system?

In this book, I aim to address the change from the republic to the empire as a change from an oligarchy to a monarchy, that is, from a sociopolitical system of competing aristocratic families to the constant supremacy of one family. The question of the nature of this critical change in the Roman government in this way becomes the question of how one family became a public institution. I thus trace the status of Augustus' family from his rise to sole power in 31 B.C.E. through the early years of his successor, Tiberius, almost fifty years later. Propaganda and legislation that politicized family roles, experiments in expressing Augustus' authority in the state as paternal, and the practical expansion of his household into administration, all conspired over time to make Augustus' family a state institution. Exploring these complex images and realities of what became the imperial family – in contemporary art, building programs, cult, ceremonies, literature, legislation, law cases, politics and official terminology – reveals how and why the family of Augustus became a part of the Roman state.

By "state" I do not mean the modern concept of the industrialized nation-state, but the Roman concept of the civic institutions which formed the sometimes amorphous *res publica*, the "public thing." The notions of public and private, civic community and family, like any ideological boundaries, were under constant negotiation and redefinition in the Roman world. In the period of intense change during which the imperial structure was born, however, special attention should be paid to changes in the ideas and institutions which defined the new system. The development of an imperial family, as well as related changes in social constructions such as family and state, male and female, public and private, must be among these.

In addition, the actions of individuals, such as Augustus' wife Livia, stepson Tiberius, and daughter Julia, also deserve special attention within this larger picture. Each of these players acted as members of a particular – and an increasingly ideologically charged – family, and as individuals with goals for themselves, their friends and relatives. Each acted in the context of familial expectations and obligations, personal ambitions, and a changing sociopolitical context, which they themselves were each helping to shape. My goal is thus to weave together political and military history, women's history, and the history of religion and art, with an understanding of the cultural shape of the Roman family, of gender roles, of how authority and power were claimed and exercised in Roman society, and how all of these may have changed over time. Only by examining all these threads in relation to each other can we perceive the pattern of the developing imperial state.

In order to meet these goals, the structure of the book is roughly chronological. We move from a starting point in the late republic, through the triumviral wars and Augustus' first fifteen years of sole rule, to focus on the

period from c. 13 to 2 B.C.E., before concluding with an analysis of Tiberius' successful inheritance of an imperial system. As such, no individual chapter addresses the role of Livia or Augustus or Julia in society, since their public images, goals and opportunities changed over time. This method presents some difficulties, particularly in the form of repetition, as different threads are picked up in different periods. However, in presenting a coherent story and argument, some repetition is unavoidable when the main aim is to historicize a period of significant change in many levels of Roman society and culture.

We begin by assessing the nature of the *res publica* and the aristocratic family in the late republic. The republic was an oligarchy and, as is the case with most oligarchies, the Roman system involved a complex relationship between the families of the governing class and public life. A man's wife, slaves and freedmen supported him economically and politically, but stayed hidden from official state celebration and were excluded from most civic spaces. Thus, for example, although an aristocratic man's living relatives worked hard in the interest of his career, when he commemorated his family on coins he did so by depicting famous male ancestors for their public deeds. By examining contemporary art, houses and ceremonies, we can sketch the late republican elite's conceptions of the lines between public and private.

Significantly, we will see in the literature, legislation and ceremonies of the early Augustan period that the collapse of the state into civil war came to be seen by elite Romans as caused by illicit crossings of just these social boundaries – public and private, male and female, *res publica* and family. This explanation for civic crisis was quite in keeping with traditional Roman moralist readings of history, but it also importantly shaped and was shaped by Augustus' self-presentation as a savior and restorer of the state in the first decade after his victory at Actium. Indeed, his first major set of reforms and the first refashioning of his public image involved a restoration of law and order in the form of a restoration of the idealized *res publica*. Augustus presented himself as the one who restored not only traditional political forms, but also respect for religion, the sanctity of the Roman family, and thus the health of Rome itself. In terms of his own family, this meant that his female relatives withdrew from public life, in contrast to the advertised behavior of women during the triumphal crises; thus, the first years of Augustus' rule saw no development of a public role for his own family. However, his legislation to restore the Roman family – legislation that required marriage and child-rearing for participation in public life and criminalized adultery – made matters once conceptually restricted to the private sphere part of public discourse. Although we therefore cannot find evidence for an imperial family in the well-documented Saecular Games of 17 B.C.E., foundations for important changes had been laid.

The bulk of this work then focuses on the succeeding fifteen years of Augustus' sole rule (17–2 B.C.E.). In terms of marriage patterns and adoptions (Chapter 3), the relationship of Augustus to the military (Chapter 4), his and

his relatives' roles in newly developing cult forms (Chapter 5), and their increasing involvement in all levels of civic administration (Chapter 6), Augustus and his family transformed themselves into something totally new to the Roman experience during this period. The members of his immediate family developed public roles as models of proper aristocratic behavior and took over responsibility for the military. Meanwhile, experiments in expressing Augustus' unprecedented relationship to the state proceeded beyond the legal and magisterial vocabulary of the restored *res publica*. In particular, Augustus and his contemporaries began to understand his authority and caretakership of the state as that of a Roman father to his family. Important stages in this redefinition of public and private in the context of the imperial family include: the dedication of the Altar of Peace in 9 B.C.E., on which images of peace and security come in the individually depicted forms of Augustus and his relatives; the institution of a series of state, neighborhood and private cults honoring Augustus and his relatives on the model of private family cult; and the dedication of a shrine to the goddess of political and familial accord by Augustus' wife Livia in 7 B.C.E. Moreover, in a practical sense, Augustus came to manage the city and the empire as republican men managed their households: Augustus' slaves and freedmen managed state finances, his wife hosted foreign ambassadors, his sons and stepsons commanded the Roman armies, and he raised the children of allied kings in his own home.

Chapter 7 focuses on 2 B.C.E., when the mixing of familial and state forms culminated in Augustus' acceptance of the new title *Pater Patriae*, "Father of the Fatherland." Not only was the appropriate name for the leader of the imperial slave administration "father," but its development had consequences for the status of his heirs, because in practice his son would inherit parts of the imperial state. Not coincidentally, 2 was the year Augustus' younger son came of age and his older son assumed his first military command. The art and ceremonies of the new August Forum, dedicated this same year, reiterated the growing conception of the state as part of Augustus' family. Finally, the scandal of Augustus' daughter nearer the end of the year reveals the conceptual integration of Augustus' family into the community. Her alleged adultery – sexual disloyalty to Augustus' house – was treated as treason.

Chapter 8 analyzes the successful inheritance of the position of *princeps* by Augustus' chosen heir, which underscored the role of his family in the state. After outliving many potential heirs, Augustus finally chose his stepson Tiberius to succeed him in 4 C.E. Tiberius was marked out to be a successor in both the magisterial and the familial modes of expressing authority which Augustus had developed. Tiberius was granted the magisterial powers which Augustus held, and essentially served as Augustus' administrative colleague for the last ten years of the first emperor's life. Just as importantly, however, Augustus adopted his stepson and named him his legal heir. On Augustus' death, Tiberius became the head of an imperial family, and thus the head of the imperial state.

INTRODUCTION

We conclude with a review of early Tiberian monuments, ceremonies and state documents confirming the institutionalization of an imperial family as part of the Roman state (Chapter 9). Portrait groups of the entire family, including its women, were erected in Rome and all over Italy and the empire. Coins were issued showing Tiberius' mother, Augustus' widow Livia, in the guise of goddesses like Salus, "health" or "safety," and Pax, "peace." In this period, we can see an official terminology developing to discuss the family of the emperor as a public institution. The new name *domus Augusta*, August/Augustan house, was applied to the imperial household, and *pietas*, a term for familial and religious devotion, came to be used to describe loyalty to it. In turn, under Tiberius we can also perceive the effects of these developments on the public and the self-presentation of other aristocrats now that family relationships had become part of the commemoration of the most powerful: that is, of members of the imperial family.

When Octavian looked out over the ashes of his final victory at Actium in 31 B.C.E., he did not have a blueprint of the developed imperial government in his head. The next fifty years witnessed a series of experiments by Octavian himself, his relatives, and other contemporaries, as they tried to negotiate the consequences of this victory. Historicizing the years of this transition from the republic to the empire, as well as analyzing changes in social categories and constructions such as male and female, public and private, family and state, provides new insight into the social and political processes which created the Roman empire.

FAMILY AND STATE IN THE LATE REPUBLIC

To argue that a fundamental feature of the imperial system was how it combined a Roman family with a previously distinct set of civic institutions, we will need to start with an analysis of each of these component parts. In this chapter we shall thus analyze the ideas about family and state held by Roman aristocrats in the late republic. What was the Roman concept of a “family”? Who occupied the elite household, and what were the expected roles of free and slave men and women within one? What was the relationship between those roles and the world of politics? How did the Romans of the late republic define the ideological spheres of public and private? All the ways these questions were answered formed important precedents for Octavian’s actions and reforms during and after the civil wars of the 30s B.C.E.

We shall see in the abundant surviving evidence that the aristocracy maintained a separate political sphere for men in the generation before the assassination of Caesar in 44 B.C.E. Within the upper class, a man’s wife, slaves and freedmen, and even his physical house, supported him socially and politically, but were excluded from official celebration; the forum, the senate house, magistracies and public monuments formed a world for free men only. A sketch of this gendering of the public realm in late republican elite thought establishes a clear background against which changes in the triumviral and Augustan periods may be perceived.

THE FAMILY IN THE REPUBLICAN ARISTOCRACY

Just the terms the Romans used to discuss the “family” reveal it to be a culturally unique set of ideas and institutions. Each of the Latin words roughly equivalent to “family,” just as in English, had different connotations depending upon the context.¹ Legally, kinship was reckoned agnatically, that is, through the male line only, although maternal relations were tracked and considered important. *Familia* was the term used to denote this group, although all agnates shared at least a *nomen*, the clan or *gens* name, and often a *cognomen*; Cicero sometimes used *nomen* and *gens* as synonyms for *familia*.² In

other contexts, however, *familia* could identify an estate or household, including its slaves, or just the resident slaves, or, much less frequently, a more inclusive group of blood relations.³ *Domus*, the term for the physical house,⁴ was used by extension to connote those who lived in it, both slave and free,⁵ and also the larger set of blood relations of its free occupants.⁶ In "Roman Kinship," Richard Saller argues that the community of the *domus* was in fact the focus of Roman familial identity and emotional life, whatever the particular legal relationships may have been among the members of the household. Even so, to identify those whom we might consider his immediate family, a Roman man had to resort to a list: *uxor liberique*, "wife and children," *coniunx liberi*, "spouse and children."⁷

Amidst all these groups, who tended to live together in an elite household? Despite some exceptions in which we find evidence for an extended family,⁸ scholars now largely concur that a household with one primary nuclear family was most common – if by that we mean a male owner, his wife, their offspring, and servants.⁹ However, demographic realities, such as a short life expectancy,¹⁰ a common age gap between husband and wife, and the dangers of childbirth for women, often led to serial marriages for both women and men, and many stepchildren. Thus, the Roman family should more accurately be understood as a 'blended' nuclear family, plus slaves.¹¹ This potential for flux was increased by cultural attitudes toward marriage; matrimonial unions were arranged for procreational, material, and political purposes, rarely romantic goals,¹² and divorce, motivated by the same, was not inherently stigmatizing

1 Richard P. Saller, "Roman Kinship: Structure and Sentiment," in *The Roman Family in Italy: Status, Sentiment, Space*, eds Beryl Rawson and Paul Weaver (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), 7–34 and *Patriarchy*, 74–101 provides the fullest discussion of the linguistic terms, but for general definitions see also Dixon, *Roman Family*, 1–11 and Bradley, *Discovering the Roman Family*, 3–11.

2 E.g., *For Scaurus* 111, *Against Verres* 2.2.51, *For Murena* 12, *For Ligarius* 20.

3 Saller, *Patriarchy*, 75–9.

4 Cicero *Against Catiline* 4.12, *Against Verres* 2.5.80.

5 Cicero *Against Catiline* 1.14, *Philippics* 5.11.

6 Vergil *Aeneid* 7.52.

7 Cicero *For Roscius Amerinus* 96, Seneca *On Providence* 3.2; cf. Saller, "Roman Kinship," 26–7.

8 E.g., co-resident married brothers: Plutarch *Moralia* 481D–E, *Aemilius Paullus* 5, Valerius Maximus 4.4.9, Plutarch *Crassus* 1; father and married son: Plutarch *Cato the Elder* 24; mother and married son: Plutarch *Caesar* 7, 9.

9 For a history of the debate, see Dixon, *Roman Family*, 4–8.

10 See most recently Bruce W. Frier, "Roman Demography," in *Life, Death and Entertainment in the Roman Empire*, eds D. S. Potter and D. J. Mattingly (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1999), 85–109 and Saller, *Patriarchy*, 9–69.

11 See especially Bradley, *Discovering the Roman Family*, 125–76 and Beryl Rawson, "Adult–Child Relationships in Roman Society," in *Marriage, Divorce and Children in Ancient Rome* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), 7–30.

12 Treggiari, *Roman Marriage*, 11–13 and 83–124; Mireille Corbier, "Family Behavior in the

for either men or women.¹³ In turn, the unions of slaves were not recognized at law, and slave children became the property of their mother's owner, creating the potential for further dislocation within a household due to sale or other transfers of ownership.¹⁴ When we add to this high rates of infant mortality, the Roman experience of family life, despite sharing a focus on the father–mother–children triad, was far different from that of the modern western world.

Modern scholars tend to identify the *pater familias* as the most characteristic feature of the Roman family.¹⁵ Technically, he was the oldest living ascendant in the male line, the head of the agnatic *familia*, who had “paternal power,” *patria potestas*, over all those descended from him, including married adult sons and grandsons.¹⁶ In abstract theory, this meant the *pater familias* had the power of life and death over his descendants,¹⁷ who also lacked the capacity to own property or contract marriages without him.¹⁸ Due to this emphasis on the male line, children belonged primarily to the father, and automatically stayed with him should he divorce.¹⁹

Richard Saller has recently and convincingly argued, however, that the Romans used the term *pater familias* predominantly to refer to the owner of an estate, rather than a father.²⁰ This ownership included the caretakership of the family patrimony, and thus carried associations of diligence and responsibility.²¹ Similarly, *pater familias* was used as an alternative to *dominus* as the word for a slave master, in part in his role as an owner of human property, but also to invoke a caring and paternal form of master. Concludes Saller, “to summarize the nonlegal textual evidence, whereas today *pater familias* conjures up

Roman Aristocracy,” in *Women's History and Ancient History*, ed. Sarah B. Pomeroy (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1991), 176; Bradley, *Discovering the Roman Family*, 126–30.

13 On divorce and remarriage, see Treggiari, *Roman Marriage*, 435–82; Mireille Corbier, “Divorce and Adoption as Roman Familial Strategies,” in *Marriage, Divorce and Children in Ancient Rome*, ed. Beryl Rawson (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), 47–63; and Michel Humbert, *Le remariage à Rome. Étude d'histoire juridique et sociale* (Milan: A. Giuffrè, 1972). On the question of whether or not divorce should be considered “common” in Roman society, see especially Treggiari, “Divorce Roman Style: How Easy and How Frequent was it?” in *Marriage, Divorce and Children in Ancient Rome*, 41–6.

14 Dixon, *Roman Family*, 53–5. On the slave family, see especially Keith R. Bradley, *Slaves and Masters in the Roman Empire. A Study in Social Control* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987), 47–80.

15 For examples and a more detailed analysis of the difference between the ancient and modern understandings of this term, see Richard P. Saller, “*Pater Familias*, *Mater Familias*, and the Gendered Semantics of the Roman Household,” *Classical Philology* 94 (1999): 182–97.

16 *Digest* 50.16.195.2.

17 Gellius *Attic Nights* 5.19.9, Dionysius of Halicarnassus 2.26.4, Sextus Empiricus 3.211.

18 On *patria potestas*, see full discussion and bibliography in Saller, *Patriarchy*, 102–53, especially 114–30.

19 *Digest* 25.3.5.14.

20 Saller, “*Pater Familias*”; cf. Cornelius Nepos *Life of Atticus* 13.1, Cato *On Agriculture* 2.1, 2.7, etc.

21 Cf. Cicero *On Invention* 2.62, 116, *Against Verres* 2.3.183, 2.4.58, *Against Catiline* 4.12.

the image of a severe, patriarchal male head of household, for classical Romans it brought to mind, first and foremost, an estate owner,” and a good *pater familias* was one who managed his property responsibly.²²

The more generic term *pater*, which was used in discussions of family relationships and parenting,²³ also carried beneficent rather than authoritarian connotations in antiquity. Statistically, few men would have had living fathers when they married, and thus in practice most adult men were independent.²⁴ A father’s legal capacity to kill his children was also greatly tempered by contrary social constraints, and was probably only theoretical.²⁵ Perhaps even more importantly, although the system may be termed patriarchal, as paternal leadership of the family was clear in law, religion, and social practice, the cultural image of the *pater* was that of a moral guide, the one entrusted with the care of the patrimony, and driven by an affection and deep sense of responsibility to his children, wife, and other kin.²⁶ The father was his family’s representative in the civic community – he interacted with legal and political systems on behalf of those in his charge, as will be discussed at more length below. The father was thus in many senses a figure of power in Roman society, but a benevolent and beneficial one.

This hierarchy and sentiment were well expressed in household cult. Roman homes held shrines in which household deities, the *lar* or *lares* and the *di Penates*, were honored, as well as the divinized spirit of the *pater*, his *genius*.²⁷ When children, slaves and freedpersons made offerings at these shrines at meals and holidays, they thus articulated their spiritual dependency upon the

22 Saller, *Patriarchy*, 191–92.

23 Saller, *Patriarchy*, 189.

24 Based on demographic data presented and discussed by Saller, *Patriarchy*, 9–69.

25 J. A. Crook, “*Patria Potestas*,” *Classical Quarterly* 17 (1967): 113–22; Y. P. Thomas, “*Vitae necisque potestas*: le père, la cité, la mort,” in *Du châiment dans la cité: supplices corporels et peine de mort dans le monde antique. Collection de l’École Française de Rome* 79 (1984): 499–548; William V. Harris, “The Roman Father’s Power of Life and Death,” in *Studies in Roman Law in Memory of A. Arthur Schiller*, eds R. S. Bagnall and W. V. Harris (Leiden: Brill, 1986), 81–95; Dixon, *Roman Family*, 36–53.

26 Saller, *Patriarchy*, 102–32; Emiel Eyben, “Fathers and Sons,” in *Marriage, Divorce and Children in Ancient Rome*, ed. Beryl Rawson (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991).

27 See especially Jan Theo Bakker, *Living and Working with the Gods* (Amsterdam: J. C. Gieben, 1994), but also Pedar Foss, “Watchful *Lares*: Roman Household Organization and the Rituals of Cooking and Eating,” in *Domestic Space in the Roman World: Pompeii and Beyond. Journal of Roman Archaeology, Supplement* 22 (1997): 196–218; F. Bömer and P. Herz, *Untersuchungen über die Religion der Sklaven in Griechenland und Rom. I: Die wichtigsten Kulte und Religionen in Rom und im lateinischen Westen* (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1981); D. Wachsmuth, “Aspekte des antiken mediterran Hauskults,” *Numen* 27 (1980): 34–75; David G. Orr, “Roman Domestic Religion: The Evidence of the Household Shrines,” *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt* II.16.2 (1978): 1135–1200; and Thomas Fröhlich, *Lararien und Fassadenbilder in den Vesuvstädten. Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts. Römische Abteilung. Ergänzungsbeft* 32 (1991). For more on family cult, see below, Chapter 5.

head of the household. Interestingly, the Romans used the same term, *pietas*, to express devotion to the gods and to parents and other close relatives. At least by the late republic, familial *pietas* does not seem to have connoted an obligatory obedience to paternal authority, but rather an honored if dutiful devotion.²⁸ Thus, even though the family cults reinforced the father's authority, they also cultivated familial sentiments, and encouraged the *pater* to care for those in his power.

In some household shrines the divine twin of the matron of the house was also included as an object of worship,²⁹ which reveals in a number of ways her ambiguous position within the household. By the late republic, the form of marriage by which a woman transferred into the *familia* of her husband had largely fallen out of use.³⁰ As such, a woman stayed in the *familia* of her father even during her marriage, and became independent upon his death. Lacking the capacity to be related agnatically to her own children, a fatherless woman legally became "the beginning and end of her own *familia*."³¹ Despite this legal distance, a woman was necessary to form the focal relationship of a Roman household: that is, a marriage which would produce legitimate, agnatic descendants for her husband's *familia*. Interestingly, characteristics Romans ascribed to the ideal marriage were *concordia*, "harmony" or "agreement," and *fides*, "loyalty" or "trust," both terms also used in the political arena to describe peaceful and productive relationships among competing classes or groups.³² In many senses, therefore, the Roman marriage was conceived of as a partnership, albeit an unequal one.

The economic realities of an elite family headed by a couple in a "free" marriage underscored this situation. A single Roman household actually incorporated a number of individual financial accounts – the wife maintained her own property and resources, as did her husband, while her dowry was owned by him but recoverable by her at the end of the marriage.³³ At various

28 Saller, *Patriarchy*, 105–14.

29 See James Rives, "The Iuno feminae in Roman Society," *Échos du Monde Classique/Classical Views* 11.1 (1992): 33–49.

30 So-called marriage *cum manu*. See especially Treggiari, *Roman Marriage*, 13–36; J. A. Crook, "Women in Roman Succession," in *The Family in Ancient Rome: New Perspectives*, ed. Beryl Rawson (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1986), 58–82; Jane F. Gardner, *Women in Roman Law and Society* (London: Croom Helm, 1986), 11–14.

31 *Digest* 50.16.195.5.

32 *Concordia*: cf. Bradley, *Discovering the Roman Family*, 6–8, Treggiari, *Roman Marriage*, 251–3; *fides*: Treggiari, *Roman Marriage*, 237–8. For more on the familial and political uses of *concordia*, see Chapter 5.

33 Suzanne Dixon, "Family Finances: Tullia and Terentia," *Antichthon* 18 (1984): 78–101; J. A. Crook, "'His and Hers': What Degree of Financial Responsibility Did Husband and Wife Have for the Matrimonial Home and their Life in Common, in a Roman Marriage?" in *Parenté et stratégies familiales dans l'Antiquité romaine*, eds J. Andreau and H. Bruhns (Paris and Rome: École Française de Rome, 1990), 153–72; Treggiari, *Roman Marriage*, 365–79; Gardner, *Women in Roman Law*, 97–109.

times, however, the wife might manage all of these funds.³⁴ In general, in elite Roman male constructions of gender roles, women were seen as responsible for household management and production, often symbolized by their association with woolworking.³⁵ The work women thus performed, or more often supervised, included food preparation, textile production, resource management and storage, as well as oversight of financial accounts.³⁶ These responsibilities helped make the matron a respected figure within the family, and her divine twin was thus considered worthy of household cult and devotion.

In addition, a woman's will, and in general her management of her own finances, was much less restricted by law or custom than that of a father.³⁷ As such, as a mother a woman was an even more authoritative figure than as a wife, because she could grant or withhold economic support from her children. Suzanne Dixon's analysis of the Roman mother has in fact shown her to be a formidable and respected figure within the Roman family, someone owed honor and obedience even by adult sons.³⁸ Her capacity to own property also meant that she herself owned slaves and served as the patron of freedpersons, which would have reinforced her status.³⁹

Finally, the evidence shows that although elite women were segregated from formal political activities, such as voting and office-holding, they played a wide range of significant social roles. Dixon concludes:

The subtle business of alliance, obligations, favors, friendship, intervention, reconciliation and offence (which formed the backbone of Roman politics) was one in which the socially competent Roman matron from a distinguished family would naturally play an active part.⁴⁰

In the late republic, such roles included gathering and distributing information,⁴¹ arranging marriages,⁴² and acting as intercessors for men outside

34 Treggiari, *Roman Marriage*, 375–7; cf. *Digest* 3.5.32, ht. 34 preface, *ILS* 8393.37–41, 236–9, *CIL* 13.1597.

35 Columella *On Agriculture* 12 preface 4–9, Vergil *Aeneid* 8.412, *CIL* 4.1507, *Digest* 3.5.2, 15.3.21; Caroline Kerrigan Quenemoen, "Weaving: Feminine Virtue and Economic Reality," in *I Claudia. Women in Ancient Rome*, eds Diana E. E. Kleiner and Susan B. Matheson (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1996), 157–60; T. E. V. Pearce, "The Role of Wife as *Custos* in Ancient Rome," *Eranos* 72 (1974): 16–33.

36 J. P. V. D. Balsdon, *Roman Women: Their History and Habits* (London: Bodley Head, 1962), 270–81; Dixon, *Roman Mother*, preface.

37 Dixon, *Roman Mother*, 41–70.

38 *Roman Mother*, esp. 168–209.

39 For more on gender and status hierarchies within the household, see now Saller, "Symbols of Gender."

40 Suzanne Dixon, "A Family Business: Women's Role in Patronage and Politics in Rome, 80–44 B.C." *Classica et Mediaevalia* 34 (1983): 109.

41 Cicero *Letters to Friends* 5.6.1, *Letters to Atticus* 2.12.2.

their families with their male relatives.⁴³ At first marriage, a Roman bride was usually at least ten years younger than her husband, sometimes more.⁴⁴ As a result, a gap in age and experience exacerbated the status difference between husbands and wives caused by the greater regard with which men were held in general, and the privileges accorded men of elite families, as we shall see in discussion of the public sphere below. Even so, the *matrona* was a respected figure in elite Roman society, an important context for our study of Livia and other women in Augustus' family.

Unlike later European societies, infant care was not the particular purview of free women, but was a task for male and female slaves, which brings us to the enslaved members of the elite Roman household.⁴⁵ Slaves and freedpersons served as nurses, teachers, attendants and even age peers for free children within the house.⁴⁶ Legally slave and free children were considered similar, as both were the property of the *pater familias*. However, differentiation between slave and free youngsters is clear in expected attitudes of affection and behavior; corporal punishment, for example, was generally reserved for non-citizens, and within the home used particularly on slaves.⁴⁷ This hierarchy was repeated in household cult; during the *Compitalia*, the family decorated cross-road shrines with a male or female puppet for each free member of the household and a ball for each slave.⁴⁸ The slaves were thus represented by objects without gender or any other human characteristics.⁴⁹ Slaves nevertheless were entrusted with the day-to-day care of all the infants and children of the household, while both free parents served as moral guides and disciplinarians, ideally responsible for supervising their children's intellectual and cultural development.⁵⁰

42 Cicero *Letters to Atticus* 13.41.2, 13.42.1, 13.16.2, 13.11.2, 6.6.1, 6.1.10, 6.4.2, *Letters to Friends* 3.12.2, 14.10, 14.13. See also Dixon, "Family Business," 104; Corbier, "Constructing Kinship;" Treggiari, *Roman Marriage*, 83–160; and Suzanne Dixon, "The Marriage Alliance in the Roman Elite," *Journal of Family History* 10 (1985): 353–78.

43 Cicero *Letters to Friends* 5.2.6, 5.8.2, 15.7.

44 For studies of Roman age at marriage for men and women, and their implications, see Richard P. Saller, "Men's Age at Marriage and its Consequences in the Roman Family," *Classical Philology* 82 (1987): 21–34; Brent D. Shaw, "The Age of Roman Girls at Marriage: Some Reconsiderations," *Journal of Roman Studies* 77 (1987): 30–46; and Treggiari, *Roman Marriage*, 398–403.

45 Dixon, *Roman Mother*, 104–14; Bradley, *Discovering the Roman Family*, 37–75.

46 On childcare see especially Bradley, *Discovering the Roman Family*, 13–102; Rawson, "Adult–Child Relationships;" and Peter Garnsey, "Child Rearing in Ancient Italy," in *The Family in Italy from Antiquity to the Present*, eds David I. Kertzer and Richard P. Saller (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1991), 26–47.

47 Saller, *Patriarchy*, 102–54.

48 Festus 108, 213, 272–3 in W. M. Lindsay, "Festus," in *Glossaria Latina* 4:93–467 (Paris: Société anonyme d'édition "Les belles lettres," 1930).

49 Saller, "Symbols of Gender," 87–8.

50 Dixon, *Roman Family*, 116–19; for mothers in particular, see Dixon, *Roman Mother*, 104–40, for fathers, Eyben, "Fathers and Sons."

In and around the aristocratic house, slaves also performed the actual work of food and textile production, albeit under the matron's supervision, as well as personal attendance, cleaning, food serving, gardening, secretarial work, guarding, and the like.⁵¹ Slaves and free family members were in frequent contact, as there were often no separate slave living or sleeping quarters in Roman homes.⁵² In fact, paintings of amorous couples often show slaves in the background, revealing their ubiquity.⁵³

Finally, freed slaves also remained ideologically part of the family, although they may or may not have continued to reside in the family home. In a world without banks, post-offices, telephones or telegraphs, much work in a complex society was taken care of by the family staff, and a freed person had greater mobility and legal capacity for several tasks, including message delivery, financial agency, estate management, the supervision of other slaves in specialized crafts, and the like. Inheritance law, nomenclature, and cult practices, including burials, show the continuing family connection of the freed to his or her previous owner(s) after manumission.⁵⁴

This brief sketch of the elite Roman family in the republican period reveals that the daily work of a household was performed by slaves and freedpersons, often supervised by free women. This system allowed elite men to engage in

51 For household slaves and their functions, see Keith R. Bradley, *Slavery and Society at Rome* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 76–102; Sandra Joshel, *Work, Identity and Legal Status at Rome. A Study of the Occupational Inscriptions* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1992), 145–61; Susan Treggiari, "Domestic Staff at Rome in the Julio-Claudian period, 27 B.C. to A.D. 68," *Histoire Sociale/Social History* 6 (1973): 241–55 and "Jobs in the Household of Livia," *Papers of the British School at Rome* 43 (1975): 48–77.

52 Michele George, "Servus and Domus: The Slave in the Roman House," in *Domestic Space in the Roman World: Pompeii and Beyond. Journal of Roman Archaeology, Supplement* 22 (1997): 15–24.

53 E.g., the erotic scene from House of L. Caecilius Iucundus (Pompeii V.i.26, Naples R.P. 110569), from cubiculum B of the Villa Farnesina (Rome, Museo delle Terme 1128), and from cubiculum D (1188). Service areas, however, such as kitchens, were distinguished from the rest of the house; Andrew Wallace-Hadrill, *Houses and Society in Pompeii and Herculaneum* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), 38–61.

54 On freedpersons in the republican period, see especially G. Fabre, *Libertus, recherches sur les rapports patron-affranchi à la fin de la République romaine* (Rome: École Française de Rome, 1981) and Susan Treggiari, *Roman Freedmen During the Late Republic* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969). Studies revealing the frequency with which freed slaves benefited from patron's wills include L. Boyer, "La fonction sociale des legs d'après la jurisprudence classique," *Revue d'Histoire du Droit* 43 (1965): 333–408; D. Johnston, "Prohibitions and Perpetuities: Family Settlements in Roman Law," *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte. Romanistische Abteilung* 102 (1985): 220–90; P. Moreau, "Patrimoines et successions à Larinum au Ier siècle av. J.-C.," *Revue d'Histoire du Droit* 64 (1986): 169–80. On family tombs, see most recently Valerie Hope, "A Roof over the Dead: Communal Tombs and Family Structure," in *Domestic Space in the Roman World: Pompeii and Beyond. Journal of Roman Archaeology, Supplement* 22 (1997): 69–88. Finally, an ex-slave took his previous owner's *praenomen* and *nomen*, using his slave name as a *cognomen*. In name, he thus remained connected to the *gens* of his owners; see Joshel, *Work, Identity and Legal Status*, 32–46.

the work of government, and to spend their leisure time writing history and literature, thus making their view of the world the predominant one to survive in our sources. Despite the fact that the system was designed to support him, however, the Roman father exercised his extreme legal powers over life and death rarely if ever, and the idea of the *pater* was that he was the conscientious and benevolent leader of the household, and an object of its devotion. In fact, Dixon argues that by the late republic Roman men had an affectionate and sentimental ideal of family life⁵⁵ – an ideal ripe for exploitation in Augustan imagery.

As we begin to look more specifically at the relationship between these families and the civic community, however, we should also analyze the physical structure which housed this complex domestic unit. Not only can the architecture and decoration of the aristocratic house help us read the ceremonies and statuses of those who lived there,⁵⁶ but a Roman politician's home was not used by his family alone. Since Roman society did not differentiate between work and home in the manner so prominent in post-industrial societies,⁵⁷ the aristocratic house was where a politician worked with staff and met with guests from dependants to constituents, personal and political friends, and senators. Details of the organization, decoration of and attitudes toward this space thus help articulate not only relations within the family itself, but also the relationship between aristocratic families and public life. We will also find these spaces and images frequently evoked in new contexts during the Augustan period.

Vitruvius' treatise *On Architecture* provides much insight into the function of the aristocratic *domus* in society. Writing in the late 30s or early 20s B.C.E., this author devoted the first half of his account to public buildings, such as senate houses, baths, ports, and theaters, and the second half to *loci privati*, "private places," largely houses.⁵⁸ Vitruvius sets up his discussion of the house in distinctly social terms, stating that, after seasonal and climatic considerations,⁵⁹ the architecture of a house should be shaped by the social status of the

55 Suzanne Dixon, "The Sentimental Ideal of the Roman Family," in *Marriage, Divorce and Children in Ancient Rome*. ed. Beryl Rawson (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), 99–113.

56 For studies on the relationship between domestic architecture and social needs and structures, see D. Lawrence and S. M. Low, "The Built Environment and Social Form," *Annual Review of Anthropology* 19 (1990): 453–505 and Susan Kent, ed., *Domestic Architecture and the Use of Space* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), and for the Romans in particular, Wallace-Hadrill, *Houses and Society*; Lisa C. Nevett, "Perceptions of Domestic Space in Roman Italy," in *The Roman Family in Italy: Status, Sentiment, Space*, eds Beryl Rawson and Paul Weaver (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), 281–98 and Michele George, "Repopulating the Roman House," in *The Roman Family in Italy: Status, Sentiment, Space*, 299–319.

57 Wallace-Hadrill, *Houses and Society*, 12.

58 5.12.7.

59 6.1, 6.4.1–2.

owner, as this determines the relative size of the public and private spaces within the home:

Tunc etiam animadvertendum est, quibus rationibus privatis aedificiis propria loca patribus familiarum et quemadmodum communia cum extraneis aedificari debeant. Namque ex his quae propria sunt, in ea non est potestas omnibus intro eundi nisi invitatis, quemadmodum sunt cubacula, triclinia, balneae ceteraque, quae easdem habent usus rationes. Communia autem sunt, quibus etiam invocati suo iure de populo possunt venire, id est vestibula, cava aedium, peristylia, quaeque eundem habere possunt usum. Igitur is, qui communi sunt fortuna, non necessaria magnifica vestibula nec tabulina neque atria, quod in aliis officia praestant ambiundo neque ab aliis ambiuntur. . . . Item feneratoribus et publicanis commodiora et speciosiora et ab insidiis tuta, forensibus autem et disertis elegantiora et spatiosiora ad conventos excipiundos, nobilibus vero, qui honores magistratusque gerundo praestare debent officia civibus, faciunda sunt vestibula regalia alta, atria et peristylia amplissima, silvae ambulationesque laxiores ad decorem maiestatis perfectae; praeterea bybliotheas, basilicas non dissimili modo quam publicorum operum magnificentia comparatas, quod in domibus eorum saepius et publica consilia et privata iudicia arbitriaque conficiuntur.

Then attention must be paid to the reasons for which intimate spaces are built for the heads of household [*patres familiares*] and how common spaces ought to be joined with external ones. For in terms of the spaces which are intimate, it is not possible for everyone to go into them without invitation, such as studies,⁶⁰ dining rooms, baths and the others which have the same uses and reasons. There are, however, common spaces, into which even uninvited people are able to come in their own right, that is, the vestibules, entrance halls, peristyle gardens, and the spaces which have the same uses. Thus, for those with little wealth, magnificent vestibules and offices and atria are not necessary, because they attend to their duties by canvassing in the homes of others and not by being canvassed by others. . . . For merchants and tax collectors, somewhat comfortable and showy rooms must be constructed, secure from robbery; for lawyers and public speakers, more elegant and more spacious rooms, to accommodate meetings; for men of rank who, in holding offices and magistracies,

60 The "cubiculum," often translated "bedroom," was used both for sleeping and as a private study; Andrew Riggsby, "'Public' and 'Private' in Roman Culture: The Case of the Cubiculum" *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 10 (1998): 36–56.

ought to attend to duties for their fellow citizens, lofty vestibules must be built in regal style, and most spacious atriums and peristyles, with plantings and walks of some extent in them, appropriate to their dignity. They also need libraries, picture galleries and basilicas, finished in a style similar to that of great public buildings, since public councils as well as private lawsuits and hearings before arbitrators are often held in the houses of such men.⁶¹

We should note first that Vitruvius' distinction between public and private within the house does not correlate with the modern western conception of private space as that which is reserved for the family only. For Romans of the late republic, public rooms were open to anyone at all, private rooms to select and invited guests.⁶² Semi-private and private spaces were thus used to differentiate guests hierarchically, not to separate them from the family completely. Architecture and decoration, in turn, were designed to encourage and control socially acceptable movement to these different parts of the house, and architectural and art historians have had success in identifying general public versus privileged spaces in large houses, as well as humble areas for slave work.⁶³ Moreover, the symmetrical arrangement of rooms and columns around axial courts directed attention toward certain fixed points within the public spaces.⁶⁴ An aristocratic family thus used its house to control its public image and provide an impressive and personalized frame for its members' contact with the larger community (Figures 1.1 and 1.2).

Part of the relationship between this family domain and the public is clarified in the *salutatio* or "greeting" ceremony, to which Vitruvius alludes in the above quotation. Every morning a politician's family dependants, clients, and constituents of various classes would visit his house and pay court, receiving anything from a food handout to legal advice to political support.⁶⁵ Cicero often gauged a man's popularity by the resulting crowd at his house.⁶⁶

61 6.5.1–2; cf. 1.2.9; Wallace-Hadrill, *Houses and Society*, 10–11.

62 Cf. Velleius 2.14.3, Cicero *On His House* 100, *On Duties* 1.138–9, Livy 5.41.7.

63 Wallace-Hadrill, *Houses and Society*, 4–61 and Yvon Thébert, "Private Life and Domestic Architecture in Roman Africa," in *A History of Private Life*, ed. Paul Veyne, trans. Arthur Goldhammer (Cambridge: Belknap, 1987), I:353–81. Within this general rubric, however, the rooms in Roman houses seem not to have been highly specialized, and instead were used for a variety of changing activities; see Penelope Allison, "Artefact Distribution and Spatial Function in Pompeian Houses," in *The Roman Family in Italy: Status, Sentiment, Space*, eds Beryl Rawson and Paul Weaver (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), 321–54.

64 J. R. Clark, *The Houses of Roman Italy, 100 B.C.–A.D. 250: Ritual, Space and Decoration* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), 2–6; cf. Vitruvius *On Architecture* 6.3.

65 Cicero *On the Orator* 3.133, Seneca *Moral Epistles* 68.10, 76.12, 15, 84.11, *Consolation to Marcia* 10.1.

66 *Letters to Atticus* 2.22.3, 1.18.1, *Letters to Friends* 9.20.3, 11.28.1, *On Duties* 1.138–9, *Campaign Guide* 35, 47; cf. Cornelius Nepos *Life of Atticus* 13.6.

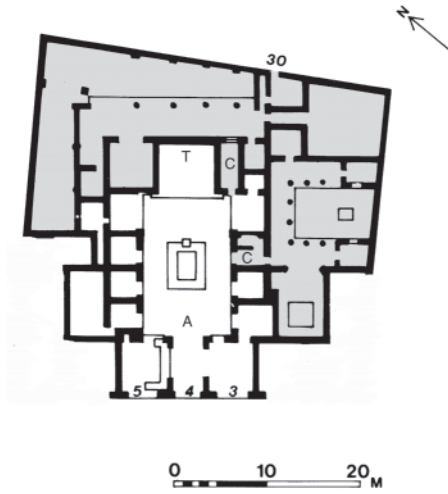


Figure 1.1 Plan of the so-called House of Sallust, Pompeii (VI.ii.4), adapted from John E. Stambaugh, *The Ancient Roman City* (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1988), Figure 12. The sight line from the main doorway (4) extends through the atrium (A) and tablinum (T), where the master or mistress would be framed by the window and columns behind while receiving visitors (Figure 1.2). The areas of the house reserved for invited guests (shaded) are accessible only via narrow corridors (C).

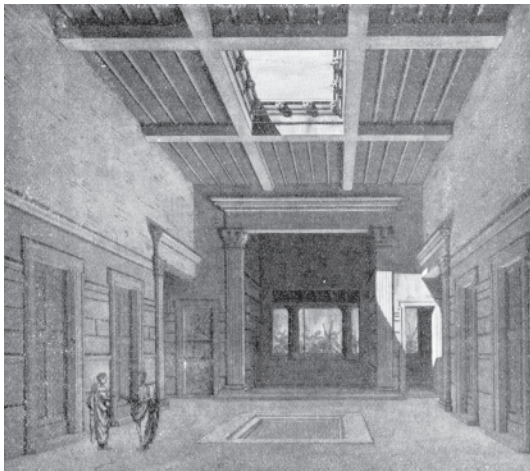


Figure 1.2 Reconstruction of the view through the House of Sallust from the doorway. Masonry-style wall painting is evident in the atrium, as well as architectural features such as engaged columns created out of stucco. From August Mau, *Pompeii, Its Life and Art*, trans. Francis Kelsey (New York: Macmillan Company, 1899), Figure 130.

These supporters would then accompany the man when he left the house to attend to public business in the forum or senate. In the republic, aristocrats preferred houses located as close to the forum as possible to foster this activity.⁶⁷

To Vitruvius, the decoration of the public receiving rooms of a politician's house was related to these functions. He uses phrases such as "regal" and "similar to public buildings" in describing their style, and the history of Roman wall-painting confirms the use of decoration to evoke the power of the public sphere within a private home. In the early first century B.C.E., the use of stucco and paint was developed in Roman Italy to make walls look as though they had been riveted with colored marbles and other stones.⁶⁸ Illusions of three-dimensional columns and other architectural features were gradually added – features and images associated by the Romans themselves with public architecture (Figure 1.2).⁶⁹

The family celebrated itself and its history as much as possible within this carefully constructed domain, usually by displaying signs of its achievements in politics and the military. The atrium, or central court, of an aristocratic house, the most prominent of the open, public spaces within the home, held the *imagines* or death masks of prominent ancestors carried in funeral processions (Figure 1.3).⁷⁰ Trophies and other spoils of battles won by ancestors and living members of the family were fastened to the outside of the *domus* and around the entranceway.⁷¹ Records of family achievements were stored in the *tablinum*, or central office.⁷² This atrium and the adjoining *tablinum* were, in turn, where aristocratic men received their *salutatio* guests. Complex references to the public sphere emphasized for visitors the public importance of the family.

Significantly, the centrality and respected position of the matron of the household was also presented in the public space of the house. Both our architect Vitruvius and his contemporary Cornelius Nepos, in comparing Greek

67 In Rome, we have references to private houses actually bordering the forum into the second century B.C.E., when public buildings began to crowd them out (Livy 26.27.2, 39.44.7, 44.16.10; Wallace-Hadrill, *Houses and Society*, 129–30). Excavations along the Via Sacra have revealed houses dating from the sixth to the first centuries B.C.E.; Andrea Carandini, "Domus e insulae sulla pendice settentrionale del Palatino," *Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica Comunale in Roma* 91 (1986): 263–78; cf. Cicero *On His House*. More recent excavations at Roman Cosa have shown that the practice survived into later periods in smaller towns; Elizabeth Fentress, "The Buildings on the Forum of Cosa," Annual Meeting of the American Institute of Archaeology, New York, 1996.

68 Cf. Wallace-Hadrill, *Houses and Society*, 19–44.

69 Pliny *Natural History* 17.1.6, 36.2.5, 36.60, Valerius Maximus 9.1.4, Vitruvius *On Architecture* 5.6.9, Vergil *Aeneid* 7.170, Propertius 3.2.9, Ovid *Metamorphoses* 2.1; cf. T. P. Wiseman, "Conspicui Postes Tectaque Digna Deo: The Public Image of Aristocratic and Imperial Houses in the Late Republic and Early Empire," *Collection de l'École Française de Rome* 98 (1987): 393–413.

70 Polybius 6.53, Pliny *Natural History* 35.7; cf. Harriet Flower, *Ancestor Masks and Aristocratic Power* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996).

71 Pliny *Natural History* 35.7, Propertius 1.16.1, Polybius 6.39.10.

72 Pliny *Natural History* 35.7.



Figure 1.3 Marble statue depicting a male citizen holding what are thought to be ancestor busts. Late first century B.C.E. Capitoline Museum, Rome. Photo by Anger, courtesy of the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Rome, negative 2001.2076.

and Roman culture, specify that Roman women had an authority and presence throughout the house and its ceremonies.⁷³ Objects and activities characteristic of these important spaces of the *domus* bear out their assertions. In particular, in addition to the *imagines* and trophies of the family, the aristocratic atrium held the loom, representing the stereotypical activities of the ideal Roman woman – spinning and weaving.⁷⁴ Woolwork was morally charged, since it was taken as evidence of womanly virtue, particularly chastity,⁷⁵ so the

⁷³ Vitruvius *On Architecture* 6.7, Cornelius Nepos *Lives* preface 6–7; cf. Cicero *Against Verres* 2.1.25.64–28.72, Horace *Odes* 3.6.25–32. The accuracy of their assessment of the radical gendering of Greek houses, however, has been questioned; see Lisa C. Nevett, “Separation or Seclusion?” in *Architecture and Order: Approaches to Social Space*, eds Michael Parker and Colin Richards (London: Routledge, 1997), 98–112 and *House and Society in the Ancient Greek World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), *pace* Susan Walker, “Women and Housing in Classical Greece,” in *Images of Women in Antiquity*, eds Averil Cameron and Amelie Kuhrt (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1983), 81–91.

⁷⁴ Asconius *For Milo* 38, Livy 1.57.

⁷⁵ Cf. Livy 1.57, Festus 96, *CIL* 6.15346, 10230, Cicero *For Caelius* 32, 57, *Philippics* 2.105, *Against Verres* 2.4.116; Quenemoen, “Weaving,” 157; Saller, “*Pater Familias*,” 195.

loom interestingly tied a woman's labor with her role as protector of the family's respectability, and its display in the atrium worked as female equivalents to the men's military spoils. Finally, the atrium also held the marriage bed, an object which symbolically joined the male and female heads of the household.⁷⁶ Asconius' description of the riots occurring after the murder of Clodius in 52 B.C.E. ties all these elements of the aristocratic atrium together:

Deinde, omni vi ianua expugnata, et imagines maiorum deiecerunt et lectulum adversum uxoris eius Corneliae, cuius castitas pro exemplo habita est, fregerunt, iterumque telas quae ex vetere more in atrio texebantur diruerunt.

Then, having violently fought open the door, they threw down the images of [M. Aemilius Lepidus'] ancestors and smashed the marriage bed of his wife Cornelia, whose chastity was held to be exemplary, and similarly destroyed the fabrics which were being woven in the atrium according to the ancient custom.⁷⁷

Not surprisingly given its social importance, the aristocratic house itself came to serve as a symbol of status and family.⁷⁸ The sacrosanctity of the *domus* as the home of the family gods reinforced this special position. In turn, "the honor of the *paterfamilias* depended upon his ability to protect his household, and . . . the virtue of the household contributed to his prestige."⁷⁹ As a result, a politician could insult another by insulting his house or the members of household, or punish a man by damaging his house.⁸⁰

As we have seen, the Roman family carried a range of associations and functions, including potent cultural figures, such as the Roman father and mother, useful institutions, such as slaves, freedpersons, cults and ceremonies, and powerful images, such as ancestor portraits and allusions to public architecture. We shall see in the upcoming chapters how all of these were used by Augustus to consolidate and legitimize his hold on power. He drew on the cultural icon of the Roman father to articulate his relationship to the state, and he came to administer that state through family slaves and freedpersons. Even

76 Andrew Wallace-Hadrill, "Engendering the Roman House," in *I Claudia. Women in Ancient Rome*, eds Diana E. E. Kleiner and Susan B. Matheson (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1996), 104–15; S. Treggiari, "Putting the Bride to Bed," *Échos du Monde Classique/Classical Views* 37 (1994): 311–31.

77 *For Milo* 13; quoted in Wallace-Hadrill, "Engendering the Roman House," 109.

78 Saller, *Patriarchy*, 88–95.

79 Saller, *Patriarchy*, 93.

80 Cicero *Philippics* 2.48, 3.31, *Against Piso* 61, *Letters to Atticus* 4.5.2; Cicero *On His House* 101–2, Valerius Maximus 6.3.1, Plutarch *Publicola* 10.2–4. Some of these examples are explored in more detail by Edwards, *Politics of Immorality*, 155–7.

the practical and symbolic roles of his wife in the community resembled that of the *matrona* in a family. Household cult was adopted to provide a means of honoring Augustus as the father of Rome, and portrait collections reminiscent of the atrium's *imagines* were brought into new public spaces. Augustus and his contemporaries thus drew on the ingrained attitudes and institutions of the Roman family as they created a new political system.

MEN, WOMEN AND THE *RES PUBLICA*

Now that we have a basic understanding of aristocratic family structures and associations in the late republic, we also need to examine the other side of the coin, that is, the public world of this same period. I am not as interested in the practicalities of aristocratic life here, however, as in the conceptual categories of "public" and "private." What we will be able to observe most clearly in the developing Augustan system is changes in elite thought about what was "public" and the symbolic manifestations of these changes, particularly in the way that what was once familial came into public imagery and discourse. To complete the background picture for our study, therefore, we need to ask: how was the *res publica* defined in this period?

I will argue that although politics were controlled by the powerful houses of the aristocracy, official action and commemoration in this arena were reserved for free adult men. Thus, within the republican aristocratic class, the ideological line between public and private, and thus in most senses between family and state, was largely one of gender.⁸¹

Gender is a complex social construction and category of historical analysis. On one level, scholars use the term to denote the set of characteristics attributed by a culture to those of a certain biological sex.⁸² For example, the Romans associated "woman" or "female" or "femininity" with weakness,

81 The social construction of public and private has long been of interest to feminist historians, as cross-culturally women have tended to be associated with the private or domestic sphere; see Gisela Bock, "Challenging Dichotomies: Perspectives on Women's History," in *Writing Women's History. International Perspectives*, eds Karen Offen *et al.* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1991), 1–23 and Joan W. Scott, *Gender and the Politics of History* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1988). Resulting theoretical investigations and discussions have shown gender to be a social category useful in decoding a variety of cultural constructs; Joan W. Scott, "Gender: A Useful Category in Historical Analysis," in *Coming to Terms: Feminism, Theory, Politics*, ed. Elizabeth Weed (New York: Routledge, 1989), 81–100. However, gendered lines between public and private are culturally specific, and the nature of the Roman use of gender and gendered spheres in the late republic requires its own detailed analysis.

82 Note, however, that the reality of this distinction between sex and gender, or biology and social construct, has been challenged; Bock, "Challenging Dichotomies," 7–9; Carol Tavris, "The Mismeasure of Woman," *Feminism and Psychology* 3 (1993): 149–68; Alice Domurat Dreger, *Hermaphrodites and the Medical Invention of Sex* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1998).

instability, and irrationality, “man” or “male” or “masculinity” with strength, integrity, and self-control, which had consequences for the ways in which real men and women behaved and were perceived. Cicero understood this to be a difference between male and female hearts and minds:

Etenim si nulla umquam fuit, liberis amissis, tam imbecillo mulier animo, quae non aliquando lugendi modum fecerit; certe nos, quod est dies allatura, id consilio anteferre debemus neque expectare temporis medicinam, quam repraesentare ratione possimus.

After all, there was never even a woman of such weak spirit that, having lost children, she did not bring an end to her mourning; certainly we should be able to bring about purposefully what the passing day will bring, nor should we to wait for the medicine of time when we are able to produce it immediately with our capacity to reason.⁸³

This assumption of female inferiority and incapacity was built into the legal system.⁸⁴ Technically, women of any age were required to have a male legal guardian approve transactions because of “the unreliability of their judgement” and “the weakness of their sex and because of their total ignorance of legal business,”⁸⁵ although this requirement does not seem to have impeded the economic independence of most women in practice.⁸⁶

In turn, because these attributes and hierarchies of “male” and “female” are so powerful, often naturalized and ubiquitous, scholars also recognize that gender is a “way of signifying [other] relationships of power.”⁸⁷ So, for example, during the triumviral conflicts, Octavian insulted Antony as weak and out of control in order to assert moral authority and power over him in the way that Romans saw men as naturally having authority and power over women. On a larger scale, Roman authors often coded Greeks and other easterners as effeminate in contrast to their own inherent masculinity in order to express

83 *Letters to Friends* 5.16.6; cf. 14.7.2.

84 Suzanne Dixon, “*Infirmitas Sexus*: Womanly Weakness in Roman Law,” *Tijdschrift voor Rechtsgeschiedenis* 52 (1984): 343–71.

85 Gaius *Institutes*, 1.44; Ulpian tit. XI; cf. *Digest* 50.17.2.

86 As noted by Gaius himself, *Institutes* 1.190; see Dixon “Family Business” and Gardner, *Women in Roman Law*, 14–26.

87 Scott, “Gender: A Useful Category,” 94; on the naturalizing of gender and other inequalities by associating culturally ascribed capacities with biology, see Bock, “Challenging Dichotomies,” 2–3; Londa Schiebinger, “Skeletons in the Closet: The First Illustrations of the Female Skeleton in Eighteenth Century Anatomy,” *Representations* 14 (1986): 42–82; Anne Fausto-Sterling, “Gender, Race, and Nation,” in *Deviant Bodies: Critical Perspectives on Difference in Science and Popular Culture*, eds Jennifer Terry and Jacqueline Urla (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1995), 19–48.

contemporary geopolitical relationships. Similarly, the phenomenon observed by literary critics wherein in “texts of the late first century B.C.E. . . . in virtually every literary genre, boundaries between ‘male’ and ‘female’ as essential categories . . . fluctuate wildly and eventually break down” may be read as an allegorical discourse about a variety of social and political crises.⁸⁸ These particular examples hint at the centrality of gender to republican definitions of power and the public. As such, understanding Roman concepts of male and female, public and private, will be critical to our understanding of triumviral propaganda and Augustan responses to it, as well as the importance of subsequent developments, such as the public commemoration of Augustus’ female relatives.

The Romans in the republican period conceived of their government as that which was public, as is seen most clearly in their term for their collective civic institutions, the *res publica*, “public thing.” These notions are confirmed by what we have already seen of Vitruvius’ sense of what was public and private. Although he recognized the social importance of activities which occurred in aristocratic homes,⁸⁹ these were still “*loci privati*,”⁹⁰ “private spaces,” in contrast to public buildings, “*loci publici*,”⁹¹ under which he includes fora, basilicas, senate houses, theaters, and baths.

The following survey of these buildings, as well as of civic institutions and ceremonies, will reveal how they were defined as important and public by being gendered masculine. Although lines of class, age, and citizen status also affected this political sphere, freeborn adult female citizens of the aristocracy were excluded from this public space and ideally confined to private space, and exceptions were considered by men to be inappropriate intrusions into their domain. Although women shopped in the forum, worshiped in state temples, kept track of current events, and even aided in the political advancement of

88 Marilyn B. Skinner, “*Ego mulier*: The Construction of Male Sexuality in Catullus,” in *Roman Sexualities*, eds Judith P. Hallett and Marilyn B. Skinner (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997), 129–50; cf. Micaela Janan, *The Politics of Desire: Propertius IV* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001); David Fredrick, “Reading Broken Skin: Violence in Roman Elegy,” in *Roman Sexualities*, 172–96; E. Oliensis, “Canidia, Canicula, and the Decorum of Horace’s *Epodes*,” *Arethusa* 24 (1991): 107–38; Judith P. Hallett, “Woman as *Same* and *Other* in Classical Roman Elite,” *Helios* 16 (1989): 59–78; T. Hillard, “Republican Politics, Women, and the Evidence,” *Helios* 16 (1989): 165–82; W. Fitzgerald, “Power and Impotence in Horace’s *Epodes*,” *Ramus* 17 (1988): 176–91. For similar studies on other periods of Roman history, see Sandra R. Joshel, “Female Desire and the Discourse of Empire: Tacitus’ Messalina,” in *Roman Sexualities*, 221–54 and Amy Richlin, “Julia’s Jokes, Galla Placidia, and the Roman Use of Women as Political Icons,” in *Stereotypes of Women in Power: Historical Perspectives and Revisionist Views*, eds Barbara Garlick, Suzanne Dixon, and Pauline Allen (New York: Greenwood, 1992), 65–91.

89 *On Architecture* 6.5.1–2; cf. 1.2.9.

90 5.12.7.

91 5 pref. 5.

their male relatives, forms of public commemoration for service to the *res publica* confirm the gendering of the public sphere as male.

Citizen assemblies, the senate, a set of largely annual magistracies, and the courts of law which regulated these constituted the government of the Roman republic. All of these jobs and activities were forbidden to women.⁹² Women did not vote, did not hold public office, did not speak in assemblies and did not serve as judges or jurors. Situations in which women did enter this sphere were taken as outrageous exceptions and used to reinforce the traditional boundaries.⁹³

For example, Valerius Maximus records a list of women “*quas condicio naturae et verecundia stolae ut in foro et iudiciis tacerent cohibere non valuit*,” “whom neither their physical condition nor the modesty of their matronly attire could compel to be silent in the forum and in the courts.”⁹⁴ The first successfully defended herself on a criminal charge in the early first century B.C.E., which earned her the nickname “Androgyne,” “Man–Woman,” and produced such a stir that the senate consulted an oracle as to what this omen portended for the city.⁹⁵ Valerius’ second example seems to have been the cause of a first-century B.C.E. praetor’s edict formally excluding women from legal advocacy “so that they might not, contrary to the modesty appropriate to their sex, perform a male function by involving themselves in the cases of others.”⁹⁶ Strong reactions in highly gendered terms met women who approached the public sphere of law during the late republic.

Provincial governance, international relations, and the military were also strictly male domains. Roman women did not travel with the army, fight as soldiers, or lead troops. Aristocratic women did not travel to the provinces with their husbands during the republic,⁹⁷ though sons might attend their fathers on such occasions as training for their future roles as leaders in this

92 Cicero *On the Res Publica* 1.67.

93 Richard P. Saller and Peter Garnsey, *The Roman Empire: Economy, Society and Culture* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987), 107–59 and Elaine Fantham *et al.*, *Women in the Classical World: Image and Text* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), 207–394.

94 8.3; Gordon Williams, “Representations of Roman Women in Literature,” in *I Claudia. Women in Ancient Rome*, eds Diana E. E. Kleiner and Susan B. Matheson (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1996), 126.

95 Valerius Maximus 8.3; cf. Plutarch *Lycurgus and Numa* 3.6; Anthony J. Marshall, “Roman Ladies on Trial: The Case of Maesia of Sentinum,” *Phoenix* 44 (1990): 56–8.

96 Ulpian *Digest* 3.1.2; R. A. Bauman, *Women and Politics in Ancient Rome* (London: Routledge, 1992), 50–1. Cf. Cicero *For Murena* 27, Gaius *Institutes* 1.144, 190; Dixon, “*Infirmity*,” J. A. Crook, “Feminine Inadequacy and the *Senatusconsultum Velleianum*,” in *The Family in Ancient Rome: New Perspectives*, ed. Beryl Rawson (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1986), 83–92.

97 Anthony J. Marshall, “Roman Women and the Provinces,” *Ancient Society* 6 (1975): 113–18. On the evidence for wives of Roman businessmen of the lower classes living in the provinces, see 117–18. In general, different gender roles seem to have operated in other social classes; cf. Natalie Boymel Kampen, *Image and Status: Roman Working Women in Ostia* (Berlin: Mann, 1981). Thus, gender also helped construct the boundaries of the aristocracy.

sphere. Cicero, for example, took his brother, son and nephew to his provincial governorship of Cilicia in 52 B.C.E.; the boys stayed in the court of the king of Galatia while the men were leading military campaigns in the interior.⁹⁸ Ties of kinship were thus recognized in official public life, but due to the nature of that sphere, the ties predominantly celebrated were those of men.

The ceremonies associated with these public duties and spaces also helped mark them as male territory. When freeborn men came of age, a rite was celebrated which physically brought them from the domestic into the public sphere – boys dedicated their childhood clothing and belongings to the family gods at home and then were led to the Roman forum and Capitoline hill to make sacrifices and be enrolled among the lists of citizens.⁹⁹ These citizen lists organized men for voting and military service, and thus the ceremony marked the movement of a boy from the private life of his home into the public world and duties of men. The name of this rite, the taking of the *toga virilis*, “clothing of a man,” not only summarizes the nature of this change, but reminds us that a boy’s new adult status, with all it implied, was marked in everyday dress as well.

In addition, the census, a counting and evaluating of the citizen body,¹⁰⁰ regularly reinforced this gender requirement for participation in the public realm. Only men presented themselves for the census.¹⁰¹ At the ceremony, each man represented his family in this public sphere, reporting if he had a wife, children, and perhaps the number of his slaves, along with stating the rest of his personal property.¹⁰² Attendance was required, and pains were taken to ensure enrollment.¹⁰³ This experience helped create the identity of a citizen – each man stood in a great crowd of men and had his place in the scheme of Roman society approved. Although the process also made many important class distinctions among them, these men stood together as the adult male citizen population, reconfirmed in their special responsibility for the *res publica*.

We should also note that part of the censors’ review of the citizens was moral, since they evaluated particularly the elite for the quality of their public and private behavior.¹⁰⁴ That is, one’s *virtus*, “courage, manliness, proper

98 *Letters to Atticus* 5.17, 20.

99 Valerius Maximus 5.4.4, Servius 5.40, Appian *Civil Wars* 4.30, Dionysius of Halicarnassus 4.15.5, Augustine *City of God* 4.11; see also Daniel P. Harmon, “The Family Festivals of Rome,” *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt* II.16.2 (1978): 1597–8.

100 Claude Nicolet, *The World of the Citizen in Republican Rome*, trans. P. S. Falla (London: Batsford Academic, 1980), 49–88.

101 *CIL* I²: 593, 1.142 of c. 80–70 B.C.E., Cicero *On Orators* 2.260.

102 Wife: Cicero *On Orators* 2.260, Gellius 4.20; children: Livy 43.14.8, Festus 58 in Lindsay, “Festus”; slaves: Dionysius 9.25.2; other property: Dionysius 4.15.6, *CIL* I²: 593, 1.142.

103 Cicero *Letters to Atticus* 1.18.8, *For Caecina* 99.

104 A. E. Astin, “Regimen morum,” *Journal of Roman Studies* 78 (1988): 14–34; Edwards *Politics of Immorality*, 30–1; cf. Dionysius of Halicarnassus 20.13.2–3, Plutarch *Cato the Elder* 16.1–2, Cicero *On the Res Publica* 4.6.

behavior as a man [*vir*]" ensured continued participation in public life. Even in broader terms morality was an important public discourse through which republican Romans defined and negotiated these boundaries between public and private, male and female.¹⁰⁵ Ennius, a Roman poet of the early second century, summarized that "*Moribus antiquis res stat Romana virisque*," "The Roman *res* stands on its ancient *mores* and its men," a pronouncement Cicero quotes at the opening of his fifth book *On the Res Publica*. The statement pithily underscores how *mores*, encompassing both morals and customs, and masculinity were ideologically related to the health of the commonwealth.¹⁰⁶ Republican men competing with each other in the public sphere in practice thus attacked one another's *virtus* and charged each other with *incontinentia*, the lack of control characteristic of women, as well as foreigners and slaves.¹⁰⁷ As Edwards summarizes, "the parading of moral norms and assertions of their transgression were strategies frequently adopted by members of the late republican elite."¹⁰⁸ For our purposes, the critical thrust of such moralizing attacks was that men who failed to be men did not belong in the public sphere; masculinity was thus a defining feature of those who participated in public life.

Rewards and public commemoration of outstanding service to the state also reinforced this gender boundary between public and private. As only men were generals, only men celebrated triumphs and ovations. By tradition, the sons of the triumphator rode next to him in the parade;¹⁰⁹ thus, we see again that family connections between men were recognized in this sphere. Public statues were also erected only of men, with a single exception known from the whole of the republican period.¹¹⁰ Public funerals were voted only for men. Although women took part in these funerary celebrations of the exemplary

105 For an outstanding assessment of Roman moral discourse, see Edwards, *Politics of Immorality*, particularly 1–33.

106 Cf. Cicero *For Sestius* 93. On the coding of Roman morality as male, see especially Edwards, *Politics of Immorality*, 20–2 and 63–97.

107 Mutually reinforcing categories; see Edwards, *Politics of Immorality*, 92–7 and 129–31; Françoise Gouffier, "Homosexualité et l'idéologie esclavagiste chez Cicéron," *Dialogues d'Histoire Ancienne* 4 (1978): 219–65; Sandra R. Joshel and Sheila Murnaghan, "Introduction: Differential Equations," in *Women and Slaves in Greco-Roman Culture. Differential Equations*, (London: Routledge, 1998), 1–21; and below, Chapter 2. Examples include Cicero *Philippics* 2.44–5, 66–8, *De Haruspicum Responso* 9, 27, 38, 59, *For Caelius* 1, 18, 31–8, 47–9, *De Finibus* 2.47.

108 *Politics of Immorality*, 27.

109 Cicero *For Murena* 11; cf. Livy 45.40.8, Valerius Maximus 5.10.2.

110 For the statue of Cornelia, the mother of the Gracchi, erected c. 100 B.C.E., see below and Pliny *Natural History* 34.31, Plutarch *Gaius Gracchus* 4, and F. Coarelli, "La statue de Cornélie, mère des Gracques et la crise politique à Rome au temps de Saturninus," in *Le dernier siècle de la république romaine et l'époque augustéenne* (Strasbourg: Association pour l'étude de la civilisation romaine, 1978), 13–28. On three legendary stories about public statues for women, see Marleen Boudreau Flory, "Livia and the History of Public Honorific Statues for Women in Rome," *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 123 (1993): 288–9.

lives of their male relatives, no woman could hope to receive such public accolades herself. Moreover, *imagines*, the death masks of prominent ancestors carried in funeral processions (Figure 1.3), were made only of men.¹¹¹

Certain monuments celebrated individual families in the public sphere in the late republic. Close examination, however, underscores that even when family history or genealogy was so commemorated, it was the male history of the family that was publicized, and thus the distinction between public and private was maintained.¹¹² Coin images are particularly revealing – they were chosen by annual magistrates, but tradition restricted them to images of public activity appropriate to the official authority the coins represented. Although portraits of deities and mythological references predominated in coin imagery from the time of the Roman adoption of coinage in the early third century, in the first century B.C.E. references to the mint magistrates themselves and their families increased dramatically.¹¹³ Even so, images of children and women were extremely rare in all public art and monuments of the period. More characteristically, we see on the coins images of magistrates, the military, and other aspects of male public life (Figure 1.4).¹¹⁴ Only one magistrate employed images of mortal women on his coins in the republic; Titurius Sabinus depicted Tarpeia and the Sabine women,¹¹⁵ legendary characters who, quite significantly, lived under the kings and thus before the establishment of the republic, or *res publica*. Many other minters alluded to their families, but they displayed their male ancestors and the public histories of their houses. For example, a denarius issued by Marcius Philippus in 56 B.C.E. carries an obverse portrait of Ancus Marcius, legendary fourth king of Rome, probably claimed by the minter as an ancestor. The reverse also plays on his name with an equestrian statue alluding to the Greek word for “horse” in Philippus; moreover, the statue rests on an aqueduct labeled AQUAMAR, the Aqua Marcia constructed by Q. Marcius Rex in the mid-second century.¹¹⁶ Some references in coin images were even personal, referring to the minter’s own successes as well as those of his forebears (Figure 1.4).¹¹⁷ However, all of these were images of success in the public sphere, for the good of the *res publica*,

111 Flower, *Ancestor Masks*, 79; Polybius 6.53–4, Pliny *Natural History* 35.4–14.

112 Natalie Boymel Kampen, “Manliness and Time in Republican Coinage,” Annual Meeting of the Archaeological Institute of America, New York, December 29, 1996.

113 Michael Crawford, *Roman Republican Coinage* (London: Strike and Son, 1974), 725–34.

114 Aediles: *RRC* 351 (c. 86 B.C.E.), 356 (c. 84 B.C.E.); consuls: *RRC* 357 (c. 83 B.C.E.), 435 (c. 53 B.C.E.); chariot: *RRC* 337 (c. 91 B.C.E.), 382 (c. 79 B.C.E.); military standard: *RRC* 441 (c. 49 B.C.E.); trophy: *RRC* 333 (c. 97 B.C.E.), 415 (c. 62 B.C.E.); battle scenes: *RRC* 327 (c. 100 B.C.E.), 370 (c. 80 B.C.E.); ships: *RRC* 307 (c. 108 B.C.E.), most coins of the *as* denomination; voting scene: *RRC* 292 (c. 113 B.C.E.); priestly implements: *RRC* 374/2 (c. 81 B.C.E.), 405/4a (c. 69 B.C.E.); oath-taking scene: *RRC* 234/1 (c. 137 B.C.E.).

115 *RRC* 344/2, *RRC* 344/1.

116 *RRC* 425/1; Kampen, “Manliness and Time.”

117 *RRC* 437.



Figure 1.4 Silver denarius of L. Calpurnius Piso, 51 B.C.E. The obverse presents a portrait of C. Coelius Caldus, consul of 94 B.C.E., whose military victories in Spain and Gaul are alluded to by the accompanying military standard and boar respectively. The reverse image and inscription celebrate the priesthood of the minter himself, who is shown preparing a banquet for the gods, although he is flanked by further symbolic references to his predecessor's military and religious offices. *RRC* 437/2. Photo © Copyright The British Museum.

the abstract idea of the state, and thus considered appropriate in public imagery despite their personal or familial associations.

In a similar fashion, Roman leaders who sponsored buildings often used their *gens* names for these monuments – the Circus Flaminius, Aqua Marcia, Porticus Metelli, Basilica Aemilia, Pons Cestius, and Theatrum Pompei are but a few examples. These men thus kept their family names in public parlance, which may have helped maintain the remarkable preference of Roman voters for candidates from famous families for the highest offices.¹¹⁸ However, this did not represent for the Romans an inappropriate intrusion of the private into the public sphere, as the buildings were public works by male officials, and, as such, were even commemorated on coins.¹¹⁹ The history of the monumental arch provides a similar illustration.¹²⁰ We know that M. Marcellus put up statues of himself, his father and grandfather on the monumental arch of his grandfather in 151 B.C.E.,¹²¹ while either in 121 or 57 B.C.E. the arch of Q. Fabius Maximus in the forum was adorned with statues of the most distinguished male Fabii.¹²² In republican attempts to glorify family history, only the part of the family which intersected with the *res publica*, that is, the history of the family's men, was so commemorated. Later we shall have to consider the implications for the concept of “public” when Augustus and

118 Cf. T. P. Wiseman, *New Men in the Roman Senate, 139 B.C.–A.D. 14* (London: Oxford University Press, 1971), 102.

119 E.g., Basilica Aemilia, *RRC* 419/3.

120 See Henry T. Rowell, “The Forum and Funeral *Imagines* of Augustus,” *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome* 17 (1940): 134 and Fred Kleiner, “The Arch in Honor of C. Octavius and the Fathers of Augustus,” *Historia* 37 (1988): 350–52.

121 Asconius *Against Piso* 44.

122 L. Richardson, Jr., *A New Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992), 154; *CIL* 6.1303, 1304, 31593, *ILS* 43.

his relatives broke these age and gender traditions in public building and iconography.

In sum, the conceptual categories of male and female were used, at least in part, to signify whether certain spaces and activities were familial or civic, since the absence of women marked the public realm in the Roman republic. In practice, of course, exceptions to the ideal may be found. Elite women were knowledgeable about and even interacted with the *res publica*. Even so, analysis of many of these apparent exceptions actually helps confirm the ideological rule.

For example, women appeared in the public venue of the law courts. Cicero's surviving defense and prosecution speeches contain frequent references to men's wives, sisters, and mistresses.¹²³ On the surface, this would point to overt involvement of aristocratic women in public life, especially since some of them appeared in court as witnesses and supporters.¹²⁴ However, careful study of the speeches reveals that Cicero largely discussed women only to vilify them and the men they were tied to, that is, the men responsible for them.¹²⁵ Thus, the presence of women in court and in courtroom speeches was largely a by-product of the political and social competition between men which was supposed to occupy the public arena.

Other activities in which elite women engaged may also seem to us political or public; however, they performed these duties for the good of their families, outside of public spaces and without public commemoration, and thus contemporary Romans considered them appropriately private. For example, a Roman matron could perform a variety of socially significant favors, or *beneficia*, while still acting within traditional, private roles. The letters of Cicero reveal women collecting and selectively distributing political and even military information.¹²⁶ Women also brokered influence with their politically active male relatives and friends, sometimes for such matters as arranging marriage alliances,¹²⁷ at other times for more overtly political issues,¹²⁸ including changing senatorial decrees.¹²⁹ These *beneficia* enhanced the family's friendship and patronage networks by incurring debts of obligation and repaying previous *beneficia*. In practice, the competent aristocratic matron thus played an

123 E.g., *Against Catiline* 1.14, *For Caelius* 33–4, 49, *For Sestius* 16–17, *Against Verres* 2.1.104–6, 136–40, 120.

124 Cicero *Against Verres* 2.1.94, Valerius Maximus 3.8.6.

125 J. Griffin, *Latin Poets and Roman Life* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1985), 43; George Kennedy, *The Art of Rhetoric in the Roman World* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1972), 271–2; cf. Edwards, *Politics of Immorality*, 9–12.

126 *Letters to Friends* 5.6.1, 14.2.2, *Letters to Atticus* 2.3.4, 2.12.2, 2.14.1, 2.22.5, 15.3.4, 15.6.4, 9.6.3, 9.9.2, *Letters to Brutus* 23.13, 2.3, 2.4.5; cf. Marilyn B. Skinner, "Clodia Metelli," *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 113 (1983): 273–87.

127 *Letters to Friends* 13.41.2, 13.42.1, 13.16.2, 13.11.2, 6.6.1, 6.1.10, 6.4.2, *Letters to Friends* 3.12.2, 14.10, 14.13, *Letters to Atticus*, 5.4.1, 5.21.14, 12.11.1, 14.19.4, 15.1.4, 13.28.4.

128 *Letters to Friends* 5.2.6, 5.8.2, 15.7.

129 *Letters to Brutus* 26.1, *Letters to Atticus* 15.11, 15.12.1.

important role in the social and political life of the late republic. Even so, women's work was not considered "public" by the Romans, and was never commemorated as such, and thus the existence of these activities serves to reinforce the notion that gender was used ideologically and iconographically to distinguish what constituted the public sphere.

In conclusion, the Romans were quite aware that much power in their political system was inherited – it traveled in family names and wealth and connections. Elements of the system actually aided in the transfer of status to the next generation, such as the role given sons in a father's triumph and the habit of bringing sons as part of a governor's provincial retinue. Individual Roman scholars expended great effort researching their own and other powerful family trees,¹³⁰ and it became quite fashionable in the late republic to attach these genealogies to the legendary past.¹³¹ The history of powerful houses was an acceptable topic of interest and means of self-advertisement, and public monuments and ceremonies show many attempts to celebrate individual families and their histories as a further means of promoting their living members and successors. However, all of these researches, public images on coins and statues, and ceremonies from the triumph to the census and the taking of the *toga virilis* carefully maintained a distinction between public and private along gender lines. Even family-glorifying monuments and events helped confirm that an ideologically separate, all-male space constituted the *res publica*.

The consistency of this self-presentation by the aristocratic men of the late republic will help reveal that Augustan changes specifically in this area were a dramatic and important feature of the shift from republic to empire. Livia's actions themselves were far from unprecedented among the roles of late republican matrons we have just discussed; what was new, however, was the public recognition and commemoration of these actions. By the time civic buildings were named for Augustus' sister and wife, after statues of the women of his family were presented on triumphal arches and state coins, and women themselves began to travel to the provinces and even with the legions, the idea of what was "public" had changed.

CONCLUSIONS

In the oligarchic system of the Roman republic, a distinct political sphere was conceptually reserved for adult male citizens. Women did not vote in

130 Cicero *Letters to Friends* 9.21, Cornelius Nepos *Life of Atticus* 18, M. Valerius Messalla Rufus *On Families* cited by Pliny *Natural History* 35.8; cf. Saller, *Patriarchy*, 80.

131 T. P. Wiseman, "Legendary Genealogies in Late-Republican Rome," *Greece and Rome* 21 (1974): 153–64.

assemblies, hold offices, speak in the senate, or lead armies, and they were not celebrated for any form of public service in official monuments or ceremonies. In addition, men challenged each other's right to participate in public life by attacking each other's masculinity. The aristocratic men who led this all-male government, even so, were supported economically and socially by their houses, families, and family networks.

The late republic was a time of rapid change in Roman society, however, and the picture I have drawn is an unfortunately static sketch of a dynamic period. The important, but to the Romans un-public, roles for women in elite society had developed over time as a negotiation between the ideal of a domestic focus for aristocratic women and the changing social, economic and political needs of the aristocracy, particularly in the last two centuries B.C.E.¹³² Increased competition between powerful families during this time resulted in more lavish and expensive houses¹³³ and an increasing political import for elite marriage ties. References to family history on state monuments from arches to coins – although still expressly public, male history – increased dramatically from the end of the second to the end of the first century B.C.E. Even so, no change in the two centuries leading up to the rise of Augustus is as dramatic as that which would come in the fifty years after his rise to sole power, when public spaces would hold portraits of his female relatives and his wife would be commended in senatorial decrees for her work on behalf of the *res publica*.

This chapter has provided the background we need to appreciate those coming changes. An understanding of the cultural associations and practical work of the elite family and of the gendering of the public world in the Roman republic enables us to perceive how and why those changes would occur. In subsequent chapters, we will see how Augustus and his contemporaries drew on precisely these family structures and associations as they developed the imperial system. Augustus himself came to be presented and publicly honored as the benevolent patriarch of the state, while his slave and freed household staff came to administer much of that state. As his family became more powerful, public commemoration of them as a family followed, and the ideological lines between public and private began to shift. Eventually, out of a combination of the once conceptually distinct Roman family and the *res publica* a whole new idea of the state would be born.

132 Cf. Susan Fischler, "Social Stereotypes and Historical Analysis: The Case of the Imperial Women at Rome," in *Women in Ancient Societies, "An illusion of the night,"* eds Léonie J. Archer, Susan Fischler, and Maria Wyke (Routledge: New York, 1994), 115–33; Corbier, "Family Behavior."

133 Cf. Pliny *Natural History* 36.110, Tacitus *Annals* 3.55.

CIVIL CONFLICT AND THE POSTWAR POLITICS OF RESTORATION

Augustan experiments in image, order, and law

Antony and Cleopatra died in August of 30 B.C.E., formally ending the conflict between Antony and Octavian's forces and almost twenty years of intermittent civil war in the Roman state. The developed government of the empire, however, with a set of roles for an emperor and his family, did not then spring fully formed from Octavian's mind like some sort of political Athena. Rome had not seen a single dominant military leader since Julius Caesar over a decade earlier, and his example had ended in assassination. No one could foresee the form and consequences of Octavian's leadership in the next few years, not even Octavian himself. In fact, many of his actions in the succeeding forty years of his life, and the actions and responses of those around him, can be interpreted as a series of attempts to understand, define, and present his relationship with the state.

In the previous chapter, we outlined the practical functions and cultural associations of the Roman family in the republican period that I will argue Octavian and his contemporaries drew on both to administer the empire and to understand his role in that administration. However, no evidence of a paternal role for Octavian, let alone any form of public role for his family, can be found in the first ten to fifteen years after his victory over Antony. In fact, the women of his family became less prominent than during the crises of the late republic and triumviral period. Thus, the beginnings of Octavian's self-presentation as a victor and leader did not move directly toward what I term a family model of government.

Even so, the manner in which Octavian transformed himself into Augustus did affect what came later. In this chapter, we will thus analyze his first major set of reforms and the first refashioning of his own public image – a restoration of law and order in the form of a restoration of the *res publica*. What happened during the Caesarian and triumviral periods, or, more precisely, how that period of civil conflict was understood in its immediate aftermath, formed a critical context for this restoration. This chapter will thus focus first on how the renamed Augustus and his contemporaries presented that tumultuous

time in Rome's history as a contrast to his own leadership and reforms. What did the winner and other survivors of the civil wars identify as the causes of those wars, and how did Augustus address them? How did this shape his actions and self-presentation, as well as that of his colleagues and relatives?

We will see that writers in the early Augustan period presented the civil wars as a time of moral crisis, a period of tradition-breaking and inappropriate boundary-crossing in many areas of life, including gender roles and the lines between public and private. Thus, the newly fashioned "Augustus" presented himself as a restorer of boundaries, and we can perceive in his legislation and contemporary public art attempts to "return" order to lines between family and state, public and private, and male and female, not to mention noble and common, Roman and foreign, and freeborn and slave. As such, although the first fifteen years of Augustus' sole rule ended without a public role for his family, and in fact with the retreat of his female relatives from public view, these early years did interestingly politicize women's roles and the relationship between Roman families and public life.

IMAGES OF CHAOS: AUGUSTAN DISCOURSE ON THE CIVIL WARS

As we saw at the end of the last chapter, the late republic was a far from static time in the history of the Roman aristocracy. Changes in society and intensifying competition periodically concentrated military power in the hands of a very few men. First with Marius and Sulla in the 80s B.C.E., and then even more so in the next generation with the so-called triumvirate of Pompey, Caesar, and Crassus, individuals garnered a degree of authority which the oligarchic collective found difficult and finally impossible to control. In January of 49 B.C.E., war erupted between Caesar and his political rivals. Within about a year of his final victory in 45, however, Caesar himself was assassinated. Various factions arose; the forces of Octavian and Antony finally defeated Cassius and Brutus at Philippi in 42. Tension between the victors continued through the next decade until Octavian declared war on Antony's ally Cleopatra in 31. The following year, Octavian's victory brought an end to the latest in nearly half a century of intermittent armed civil conflicts. Italy had been devastated by conscription and property confiscation, and no one at the time could be confident the wars were really over.

How did the survivors and victors of these wars understand them to have come about? Back in 42, when Octavian, Antony, and their ally Lepidus began governing Rome as a triumvirate, they had been legally titled a "committee of three" *rei publicae constituendae*, "for the sake of setting the *res publica* in order."¹ If Octavian were to accomplish this task of restoring order, he would have to fix what he and his contemporaries thought or suspected had caused the disorder in the first place.

Republican historiography had a long tradition of declaring the present chaotic and confused in contrast to an idealized and well-ordered past.² This order was usually articulated along moral lines – virtuous men were in charge, men who put the interests of the *res publica* above their own,³ and who successfully guarded the economic health and ideological boundaries of their families and Rome.⁴ Decline into the decadent present was thought by different authors to have begun at different times. For example, writing between 46 and 35 B.C.E., Sallust identified the period of Sulla as the moment of transition, not because Sulla engaged in civil war, but because he permitted the emasculation of a Roman army:

L. Sulla exercitum quem in Asia ductaverat, quo sibi fidum faceret, contra morem maiorum luxuriose nimisque liberaliter habuerat. Loca amoena, voluptaria, facile in otio ferocis animos molliverant.

Lucius Sulla, in order to make the army that he had led into Asia more loyal to him, contrary to the ways of our ancestors, maintained his soldiers in too luxurious and liberal a fashion. In their leisure time, charming places and pleasures easily softened their fierce spirits.⁵

Symptoms of trouble in this moralizing diagnosis tended to include female unchastity or women in control (indications of weak families and fathers), luxury and lust (signifying men with uncontrolled appetites), and Hellenizing (which threatened Roman superiority). Edwards importantly points out that:

For Romans, luxury and lust were cognate vices; those susceptible to sexual temptation, it was felt, were also prone to indulge to excess their appetites for food, drink, and material possessions. Attacks on these vices were articulated in similar terms: the skirmishes between Roman moralists and alleged voluptuaries took places on the conceptual borders between masculine and feminine, public and private, Roman and alien. The parallels between the arguments adduced by Roman moralists regarding different aspects of *incontinentia* allowed these arguments to reinforce one another.⁶

1 Suetonius *Augustus* 27.1.

2 E.g., Polybius 6.53; Cicero *On the Res Publica* 5.1–4, 5.6.8, 6.1.1, cf. 2.29.51, 5.7.9, 6.8.8, *For Marcellus* 23, *On the Nature of the Gods* 2.9–10, *Letters to Atticus* 18.3; Sallust *Catilinarian Conspiracy* 11–12, *Jugurthine War* 41–2.

3 Cato, *ORF* fragments 21, 50, 64, 83, 117, 173, 176.

4 Plutarch *Cato the Elder* 8.11, 21.8; Cato *ORF*, fragment 246.

5 *Catilinarian Conspiracy* 11.5.

6 *Politics of Immorality*, 5.

As was noted in Chapter 1, republican politicians also engaged in this moralizing discourse. Men accused each other of failing to be Roman men in asserting moral authority and superiority for themselves. Cato the Elder, censor in 184 B.C.E., seems to have participated actively.⁷ Cicero's works better survive, and his *Philippics* against Antony in the mid-40s creatively combine all these categories of moral failure:

At quam multos dies in ea villa turpissime es perbacchatus. Ab hora tertia bibebatur, ludebatur, vomebatur. O tecta ipsa misera, quam dispari domino! Quamquam quo modo iste dominus? Sed tamen quam ab dispari tenebantur. Studiorum enim suorum M. Varro voluit illud, non libidinum deversorium. Quae in illa villa antea dicebantur, qua cogitabantur, quae litteris mandabantur! Iura populi Romani, monumenta maiorum, omnis sapientiae ratio omnisque doctrinae. At vero te inquilino – non enim domino – personabant omnia vocibus ebriorum, natabant pavimenta vino, madebant parietes; ingenui pueri cum meritoriis, scorta inter matres familias versabantur.

And for so many days, at Varro's mansion, you continued your disgusting orgies. From seven in the morning onwards, there was drinking, gambling and vomiting. How sad that house, and how disparate its master! Though how could Antony be described its master? Indeed the house was held by a different man. For Marcus Varro had desired this place not for varied indulgences, but for retirement and study. What things were created in that house, what discussions, what thoughts, what writings; laws of the Roman people, the history of our ancestors, the principles of all wisdom and all learning. When you, on the other hand, became the tenant – for master you are not – the house rang with the voices of drunks, the pavements swam with wine, the walls dripped; free-born Roman youths consorted with hired boys, Roman matrons moved among prostitutes.⁸

Such challenges to one another's legitimate participation in public life increased in the late republic and triumviral period, and Wallace-Hadrill even suggests that elite politicians thereby created a crisis of authority for their entire class.⁹

7 See especially A. E. Astin, *Cato the Censor* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978), 78–103, 157–81.

8 2.41.104–5.

9 Andrew Wallace-Hadrill, "*Mutatio morum*: The Idea of a Cultural Revolution," in *The Roman*

It should come as no surprise, therefore, that the victor of the civil wars and his fellow survivors, those who lived to interpret the rhetoric and events of the triumviral period, understood those wars to have been caused by moral failings of the men in charge. This was in keeping with how elite men had understood the world to work for generations, and, as we shall see, may also have reflected actual changes in gender roles and other unusual circumstances arising in this tumultuous period. In this section we will thus investigate the precise forms of crisis and chaos articulated in the early Augustan period, as they were intimately tied up with Augustus' self-presentation as the restorer of the glorious and stable past from which Rome had fallen. Significantly, we will see that the issues to hand were highly gendered, making the line between public and private of primary concern to the restoration of the *res publica*.

The story of Mark Antony which emerged from the early principate well illustrates these phenomena. Although the fullest version is provided by Plutarch, who wrote about a century after the events in question, Plutarch cites Augustus' own memoirs as one of his sources,¹⁰ and probably drew on the work of other contemporaries, including C. Asinius Pollio and Q. Dellius.¹¹ The main themes of the tale were thus likely created during and immediately after the triumviral wars. Moreover, Cicero's attacks on Antony, the *Philippics*, as well as Vergil, Horace and Tibullus' contributions to the popular image of Cleopatra,¹² confirm that Plutarch provides a fair impression of contemporary rhetoric.¹³

According to Plutarch's story, Antony had to be stopped, and thus the war against him had to be fought, because Antony blatantly disregarded the traditional boundaries of Roman society. Plutarch depicts Antony as controlled by his Greek mistress, Cleopatra,¹⁴ and this control of a Roman man by a foreign woman is rhetorically equated with the effect of alcohol, other drugs or magic spells, and a lack of discipline and morals.¹⁵ This failure to maintain self-control, masculinity, and ethnic superiority creates weakness in Antony and in the empire:

Cleopatra succeeded in captivating Antony so completely that, at the very moment when Fulvia his wife was carrying on war in Italy against Octavius Caesar in defense of her husband's interests, and a

Cultural Revolution, eds Thomas Habinek and Alessandro Schiesaro (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).

¹⁰ *Life of Antony* 22, 68.

¹¹ *Life of Antony* 9, 25.

¹² *Aeneid* 8.912–68, Horace *Odes* 1.37, *Epodes* 9, Tibullus *Elegy* 3.11.41–6.

¹³ For a detailed analysis of Plutarch's sources for the *Life of Antony*, see C. B. R. Pelling, ed., *Plutarch. Life of Antony* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 26–31.

¹⁴ *Life of Antony* 25, 36, 62.

¹⁵ Plutarch *Life of Antony* 25, 28, 36–7, 53, 58, 62, etc.; cf. Florus 2.21, Appian *Civil Wars* 5.1, Dio 49.34.

Parthian army under Labienus . . . was hovering threateningly on the frontier of Mesopotamia and was about to invade Syria, he allowed the queen to carry him off to Alexandria.¹⁶

His Roman wife's engagement in military activities, particularly in contrast to his own surrender, only reinforces the image of Antony as effeminate and disrespectful of Roman traditions; moreover, this disrespect is about to enable an invasion of the frontier. Plutarch conflates this problem of gender roles with other important social hierarchies Antony subverts; he describes how the triumvir pretends to be a commoner or slave, is beaten, and plays other childish pranks, and how he fancies himself similar to Persian kings and dresses his children as Medes and Macedonians.¹⁷ To the Romans, these were signs of unmanliness and un-Romanness, the "natural" result of which was the impotence of Antony's armies.¹⁸ Since the Egyptians themselves were ruled by a queen, Octavian could well argue these easterners were in sore need of manly Roman control, and he thus managed to cloak his civil war against Antony as a war against Egypt and its barbarian queen.¹⁹ All of these themes are reflected in Plutarch's report of the declaration of war:

As soon as Octavius Caesar had completed his preparations, he had a decree passed declaring war on Cleopatra and depriving Antony of the authority which he had allowed a woman to exercise in his place. Octavian also gave it out that Antony had allowed himself to fall under the influence of drugs, that he was no longer responsible for his actions, and that the Romans were fighting this war against Mardian the eunuch, Potheinus, Iras, who was Cleopatra's hairdresser, and Charmian, her waiting-woman, since it was they who were mainly responsible for the direction of affairs.²⁰

Thus, during and after the triumviral wars, Octavian and his supporters presented their armed civil conflict as a war against female or effeminate foreigners and a Roman man who was controlled by them. The cause of the war was thus articulated as a temporary weakness arising from a moral failure within certain members of the ruling Roman elite. In turn, the implied solution was to strengthen morality by reasserting the lines and hierarchical order between the conflated categories of male and female, Roman and foreign – categories we shall see raised again in Augustan imagery and legislation.

16 *Life of Antony* 28; cf. 36.

17 *Life of Antony* 29, 37, 53.

18 37, 66.

19 Cf. Vergil *Aeneid* 8.912–68, Propertius *Elegy* 3.11, Velleius 2.85; Lucy Hughes-Hallett, *Cleopatra: Histories, Dreams and Distortions* (New York: Harper & Row, 1990), 49.

20 Plutarch *Life of Antony* 60.

Another important element of Octavian's propaganda campaign as presented by Plutarch was an explicit contrast between Cleopatra and Octavia, the sister of Octavian whom Antony had rejected in favor of the queen:

When Octavia returned from Athens, Octavian thought Antony had insulted her outrageously, and he told her she must now establish her own household. But she refused to leave her husband's house, in fact she even begged Octavian, unless he had already made up his mind to declare war for different reasons, to ignore Antony's behavior toward her . . . These were her words and her actions added force. She went on living in her husband's house as if he were home, and she cared for Antony's children, not only those she had borne him but also Fulvia's, with a truly noble devotion and generosity of spirit. She also entertained any friends of Antony who were sent to Rome on business or to solicit posts of authority, and she did her best to help them obtain what they wanted from Octavian. But in this way she unintentionally did great harm to Antony's reputation, since he was naturally hated for wronging such a woman.²¹

Octavia is used here to illustrate the ideal elite Roman woman – helpful, respectful, loyal, and domestic. Triumviral propaganda thus did not just focus on Roman masculinity and feminized foreigners, but also on appropriate roles for Roman women. The propaganda of Octavian's victory naturally incorporated the same themes, bringing the question of appropriate behaviors sharply into public discourse.

Other Roman authors similarly locate the causes of the civil wars in customs and morals, but they articulate different specific failures. Many focus on women's chastity, which was related to the role of men as caretakers of their families and defenders of the honor of their households.²² On a larger scale, the ideological connection between the health and well-being of the state and the sexual control of women had a long history in Roman culture – the Vestals' perpetual chastity was part of their religious caretakership of the state, and their unchastity was often diagnosed as the cause of national disasters.²³ In a poem traditionally dated between 30 and 23 B.C.E., the poet Horace thus

21 *Life of Antony* 54.

22 Cicero *For Caelius* 1.1, *For Cluentius* 16.188. For a study of this relationship between female chastity and male honor, see David Cohen, "The Augustan Law on Adultery: The Social and Cultural Context," in *The Family in Italy from Antiquity to the Present*, eds David I. Kertzer and Richard P. Saller (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1991), 115–20.

23 Edwards, *Politics of Immorality*, 44. For discussion of cases of Vestal unchastity, see Tim Cornell, "Some Observations on the *crimen incesti*," and John Scheid, "Le délit religieux dans la Rome tardo-républicaine," *Le délit religieux dans la cité antique. Collection de l'École Française à Rome* 48 (1981): 27–37 and 117–71, respectively.

rhetorically blames Roman female unchastity for the civil wars. In *Ode* 3.6, he locates the military weakness of the empire – evident both in defeats to foreign foes and civil conflict – in a rupture of the *pax deorum* caused by a disrespect for the gods and a husband's lack of control over his wife's sexuality.

An interesting parallel may be found in Livy. In his preface, this early Augustan historian presents his task in recording the history of Rome in explicitly moral terms:

Ad illa mihi pro se quisque acriter intendat animum, quae vita, qui mores fuerint, per quos viros quibusque artibus domi militiaeque et partum et auctum imperium sit; labante deinde paulatim disciplina velut dissidentes primo mores sequatur animo, deinde ut magis magisque lapsi sint, tum ire coeperint praecipites, donec ad haec tempora quibus nec vitia nostra nec remedia pati possumus perventum est.

As far as I'm concerned, let each reader pay sharp attention to these things – what were the lives, what the *mores*, through which men and which means dominion was won and extended at home and abroad; then, when discipline slipped little by little, watch how *mores* followed differing from the first, then as they slipped more and more, and then began to rush headlong into ruin, until it has come to the time when we are able to endure neither our vices nor their remedies.²⁴

Livy explores the decay of Roman society which led to the disasters of his own day in part through a presentation of a debate on the repeal of the *lex Oppia*.²⁵ The possibility of eliminating this sumptuary restriction of the Second Punic War on women's display and ownership of jewelry brought crowds of Roman women into the forum. The speech Livy gives to the law's advocate, Cato the Elder, depicts the impropriety of these women and the failure of their men to control them as threats to the state:

Si in sua quisque nostrum matre familiae, Quirites, ius et maiestatem viri retinere instituisset, minus cum universis feminis negotii haberemus: nunc domi victa libertas nostra impotentia muliebri hic quoque in foro obteritur et calcatur, et quia singulas sustinere non potuimus universas horremus . . . ut quam accepistis iussistis suffragiis vestris legem, quam usu tot annorum et experiendo comprobastis, hanc ut abrogetis, id est, ut unam tollendo legem ceteras infirmetis.

²⁴ *From the Founding of the City*, preface 9.

²⁵ 34.1.1, cf. Valerius Maximus 9.1.3; Phyllis Culham, "The *Lex Oppia*," *Latomus* 41 (1982): 786–93.

If each of us, Citizens, had worked hard to retain the right and sovereignty of a man over his own wife, we would have less trouble with women altogether: now our liberty, having been conquered at home, is also trampled on and crushed here in the forum due to a feminine lack of self control, and because we were unable to hold individual women in check, we tremble before them as a group . . . [They want] you to abrogate the law which you have enacted by your votes, which you have tested by use for so many years and by experience, that is, [they want] that by lifting one law you should weaken the others.²⁶

On the other hand, Livy's respondent to Cato gives a long list of the times women had come into Roman politics for the good of the state, clarifying that women were not always destructive. He lists the intervention of the Sabine women to end the Roman war with the Sabines, the end of Coriolanus' revolt due to his mother's appeal, and the funds women had provided during the invasion of the Gauls in the fourth century and during the recent war with Carthage.²⁷ Roman women are in this view not presented as inherently bad, but they appear in public only during moments of crisis. Thus, both Cato and his opponent associate women in the public sphere with dangers to the state – past, present, or future.

Similar tensions are evident in Livy's first book, written during and just after the war between Octavian and Antony.²⁸ It tells the stories of the city before the establishment of the *res publica* and is filled with the most interesting and contrasting presentations of women in his entire surviving work.²⁹ Some of these are positive: the first Roman women, the abducted Sabines, prove the appropriateness of intercession by their female descendants by negotiating the end of the war between their fathers and brothers, the Sabines, and their husbands, the Romans.³⁰ The entire scene is highly reminiscent of Plutarch's description of Octavia at Tarentum, where she negotiated peace between her brother Octavian and her husband Antony,³¹ and Livy may well have had indirect praise of Octavia in mind. More examples of the behavior of women before the establishment of the republic, however, are negative: Tarpeia

26 34.2.1–2, 3.4.

27 34.5.7–11.

28 35–30 B.C.E.; Livy 4.17–20. See R. M. Ogilvie, *A Commentary on Livy, Books 1–5* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965), 2; Ronald Syme, "Livy and Augustus," *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 64 (1959): 27–87; T. J. Luce, "The Dating of Livy's First Decade," *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 96 (1965): 209–40.

29 Cf. Linda J. Piper, "Livy's Portrayal of Early Roman Women," *Classical Bulletin* 48 (1971): 26–8; Jo-Marie Claassen, "The Familiar Other: The Pivotal Role of Women in Livy's Narrative of Political Development in Early Rome," *Acta Classica* 41 (1998): 71–103.

30 1.9–13; cf. Robert Brown, "Livy's Sabine Women and the Ideal of *Concordia*," *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 125 (1995): 291–319.

31 *Life of Antony* 35.

betrays Rome to the Sabines, Horatia is slain by her brother for mourning her lover, an enemy of the state, and Tullia's ambition for her husband to be king leads her to defile her royal father.³² Tanaquil, the wife of the first Etruscan king of Rome and behind-the-scenes selector of his successor, is a powerful but ambivalent figure.³³

Livy's stories thus reflect discomfort with public roles for women and anxiety about the lines between private and public, family and *res publica*. Significantly, Livy prefigures his accounts of critical reformations of the Roman government with attacks by state officials on other men's families or the similarly inappropriate entrance of women into the public sphere, and sometimes both.³⁴ For example, at the end of book one, the rape of Lucretia by the king's son instigates the overthrow of the kings and the foundation of the republic. Similarly, in Livy's presentation of the Struggle of the Orders, a withdrawal of the *plebs* to the Aventine and the ultimate publication of Rome's first legal code, the Twelve Tables, are connected with the assault of one tyrannical lawmaker on Verginia.³⁵ Whether for good or ill, the point for Livy and for other male tellers of these stories was that immorality reflected in gender problems – women in public, men failing to control women, or men unable to defend their own households – signaled crisis in the very structure of the state. Such events indicated it was time for a change.³⁶

Strikingly, the coins and other public monuments of the triumviral period suggest that Livy and his contemporaries may have experienced real slippage in ideological boundaries during the intense competition and crises of the civil wars. Both Octavian and Antony brought all resources to bear on their claims for loyalty and legitimacy; for example, each claimed unusual connections with particular gods, and were depicted as gods incarnate, potentially challenging Roman distinctions between human and divine.³⁷ It should not surprise us that their family support systems, including their female relatives, also received unprecedented public attention. Octavia negotiated the peace between her brother Octavian and her husband Antony at Tarentum when hostilities between the men broke out in 37 B.C.E.³⁸ – a familial and yet political and even military act. Gender traditions in public art were broken;

32 1.11, 1.26, 1.46–8.

33 1.33–41.

34 Claassen, "The Familiar Other," 97–9, alludes to this phenomenon, but interprets it differently.

35 3.42–58; cf. Sandra R. Joshel, "The Body Female and the Body Politic: Livy's Lucretia and Verginia," in *Pornography and Representation in Greece and Rome*, ed. Amy Richlin (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), 112–30.

36 Cf. Joshel, "The Body Female;" T. J. Moore, "Morality, History and Livy's Wronged Women," *Eranos* 91 (1993): 38–73.

37 Zanker, *Power of Images*, 37–65.

38 Plutarch *Life of Antony* 35.

living women were depicted on coins for the first time in Roman history in the 40s B.C.E., in each case one of the wives of triumvir Mark Antony, although the identification of some of these portraits and the extent of the circulation of the coins are controversial.³⁹ Dio reports that Octavian had public statues erected of his wife and sister.⁴⁰ Certainly Octavian's building program of the 30s focused on legitimacy through his family connections; his two major projects of the period were his private house on the Palatine hill and a family mausoleum on the Via Flaminia. Livy's long account of the *lex Oppia* may well echo a similar situation which occurred under the triumvirs when a group of matrons went to the forum to protest a tax aimed at wealthy women.⁴¹ Therefore, it would be interesting to pursue the notion that real changes were underway in terms of women's actual and ideological roles among the highest elite during the crises of the Caesarian and triumviral periods.

What is of more immediate concern to us is that in triumviral propaganda, and perhaps even more during the early years after Octavian's victory, the idea crystalized that inappropriate behavior among Rome's elite, defined in highly gendered terms, caused such crises and provided the best reason why it was appropriate for a Roman man to be killed and a civil war fought. Although different authors articulated the problem in different ways, they agreed that essentially men had allowed women to run out of control, and that Rome was weakened internally and externally as a result. This conceptual context, rather than any real or apparent transgressions, influenced the victor of the civil wars to attempt a hardening of the lines between male and female, public and private, Roman and other. Octavian's actions in this context will be our focus for the rest of the chapter.

I have preceded my analysis of Octavian's refashioning of himself with a look at contemporary literature – but not in order to argue that this idea of what caused the civil wars necessarily preceded Augustus' self-presentation or social legislation in the years following the death of Antony. Instead, poets, historians, and Octavian Augustus himself reinforced and helped create this particular interpretation of the civil wars and the image of Augustus as the one who had repaired the damaged *res publica*. This study of contemporary discourse is designed to help us appreciate a developing cultural context in which pushing women and families back out of public view could enable Augustus to mark a return to a better, more ordered past.

In turn, male storytelling through gender to express anxiety about the political situation did not end as a result of Augustus' "restoration" – if anything, it intensified. Gender inversions or subversion in the work of Ovid,

39 Fulvia: *RPC* 512–3, 3139–40, 4509; Octavia: *RRC* 531, 527–8, 533–4; Cleopatra: *RRC* 543; cf. Wood, *Imperial Women*, 41–51; Diana E. E. Kleiner, *Roman Sculpture* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), 357–67.

40 Dio 49.38.1; cf. Flory, "Livia."

41 Appian *Civil Wars* 4.32–4, Valerius Maximus 8.3.3, Quintilian *Oratorical Instruction* 1.1.6.

Tibullus, and Propertius, not to mention later senatorial authors like Petronius and Tacitus, may be read as expressing anxiety over the shift from shared aristocratic power to the supremacy of one man. Augustus' own imagery, as we shall see, worked along these lines – he is *the* father who tells everyone how and when to marry, for example. In fact, one could object to my reading of Livy's stories as about the triumviral wars – he may well be expressing anxiety about Augustus' position in politics rather than positively contrasting it to an inappropriate past.⁴² Either way, however, I do think we can see the legislation and ceremonies sponsored by Augustus in the period we are about to investigate as attempts to restore the *res publica* in response to particular forms of perceived triumviral chaos. Moreover, Augustus would be forced to maintain this image as a restorer of order in later experiments in self-fashioning and legitimization.

RESTORING THE *RES PUBLICA*

In Chapter 1, I outlined the practical functions and cultural associations of the Roman family, evident in the late republic, which Augustus would later employ both to govern and to explain his governance of Rome. However, neither a fatherly role for Augustus nor a public presence for his family are to be found in at least the first decade of Octavian Augustus' victory in the civil wars. In part, other experiments were simply tried first,⁴³ but in the first part of this chapter I also laid the groundwork for suggesting that such a familial model of government would have been antithetical to the manner in which the problems that had caused the civil wars were coming to be understood, namely, as a series of transgressions of critical social boundaries, including that between family and state. This section, in turn, will briefly review Augustus' self-presentation within these first ten years in two contexts. First, we will look back – we will look at how Augustus presented himself in the context of this notion of the disruptive disorder and improprieties of the triumviral period. Second, we will chart resulting attempts to return women and the family to a private sphere, attempts which actually served to politicize them and paternalize Augustus: that is, we will look forward to when this period would provide critical background for a new presentation of Augustus and his family.

After his defeat of Antony, the first major task undertaken by Octavian was to end the reign of the triumvirs and celebrate the return of law and order.

42 For a reading of Propertius along these lines, see Janan, *Politics of Desire*.

43 For studies of Octavian's self-presentation between 30 and 27 B.C.E., see Eder, "Augustus and Tradition," 97–104; Zanker, *Power of Images*, 79–100; and P. Sattler, *Augustus und der Senat: Untersuchungen zur römischen Innenpolitik zwischen 30 und 17 v. Chr.* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1960), 24–57.

This process of change was marked in a number of ways. In 29, the doors to the Temple of Janus were shut – a ceremony announcing that the state was not at war and celebrated only twice earlier in Roman history.⁴⁴ In conjunction with this and the triumph for the victories which had made peace possible, Octavian began decommissioning his troops and purchasing land to settle these veterans with his own money in contrast to earlier confiscations.⁴⁵ The following year, Octavian observed the traditions of the consulship and the censorship with Agrippa, holding a census for the first time since 70 B.C.E.⁴⁶ This ceremony, which counted, classified, and confirmed every male citizen and his relationship to Rome, fostered a sense of renewed order in the civic body,⁴⁷ and combined with a review of the senate⁴⁸ prepared the citizenry of all levels for the return of the political forms of the *res publica*. A repair of roads, aqueducts, and eighty temples gave physical form to the growing sense of renewal. In January of 27, Octavian abolished the triumviral enactments,⁴⁹ and, as he himself wrote many years later, “rem publicam ex mea potestate in senatus populique Romani arbitrium transtuli,” “I transferred the *res publica* from my power into the control of the senate and the Roman people.”⁵⁰

At the same time, laws and senatorial decrees were employed to define a temporally restricted set of political powers for the former triumvir who had saved the state. Modern scholars refer to this as the “First Settlement” and have produced an immense literature studying it.⁵¹ Essentially, Octavian accepted an unusually large *provincia*, a “task” abroad held by magistrates and ex-magistrates,⁵² which involved Octavian’s special responsibility for certain territories within the empire, while other provinces returned to rotating governance by senators. Octavian also continued to hold one of the consulships every year. The coexistence of a repaired republic and its restorer was a

44 *Res Gestae* 13, Livy 1.19, Dio 51.20.4–5.

45 *Res Gestae* 16.

46 *Res Gestae* 8.

47 Eder, “Augustus and Tradition,” 102–3.

48 *Res Gestae* 8, Suetonius *Augustus* 35.1, Dio 52.42.1.

49 Tacitus *Annals* 3.28.2, Dio 53.2.5.

50 *Res Gestae* 34. Historians have debated the nature of this transfer and the sincerity of Octavian’s apparent relinquishment of power ever since. Ancient discussions include Suetonius *Augustus* 28 and Dio 52.2–40, 53.3.5 and 11.4. For modern interpretations and bibliography, see especially Meier, “Caesar Divi filius;” Eder, “Augustus and Tradition;” W. K. Lacey, “Augustus and the Senate, 23 B.C.,” *Antichthon* 19 (1985): 57–67; Anton von Premerstein, *Vom Werden und Wesen des Prinzipats* (Munich: Beck, 1937); and Ronald Syme, *The Roman Revolution* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1939).

51 For bibliography, see in particular Eder, “Augustus and Tradition;” Brunt, “The Role of the Senate;” Sattler, *Augustus und der Senat*; and G. E. F. Chilver, “Augustus and the Roman Constitution, 1939–50,” *Historia* 1 (1950): 408–35.

52 For an analysis of the term, and the historical development of *provinciae* in the republic and their magisterial governors, see Andrew Lintott, *Imperium Romanum: Politics and Administration* (London: Routledge, 1993), 22–32, 43–59.

new situation, but Octavian's continuing caretakership of the empire was cast in terms of the traditional magistracies, as is stressed by Octavian himself in his later autobiography: "Post id tempus auctoritate omnibus praestiti, potestatis autem nihilo amplius habui quam ceteri qui mihi quoque in magistratu conlegae fuerunt." "After this time, I stood above all others in *auctoritas*, but I held no greater power than the others who were my colleagues in each magistracy."⁵³ Amidst great ceremony and a rhetorical emphasis on legality and tradition, Octavian completed the task of the triumvirate to "set in order the *res publica*."

To dramatize these changes and his responsibility for them, Octavian took the new title "Augustus," a relatively unprecedented name with an abstract but sacred connotation. The *Res Gestae* passage quoted above explaining Octavian's return of control of the *res publica* to the senate and the people continues:

Quo pro merito meo senatus consulto Augustus appellatus sum et laureis postes aedium mearum vestiti publice coronaque civica super ianuam meam fixa est et clupeus aureus in Curia Iulia positus, quem mihi senatum populumque Romanum dare virtutis clementiaeque et iustitiae et pietatis causa testatum est per eius clupeus inscriptionem.

For which service of mine, by a decree of the senate, I was named Augustus, and the doorposts of my house were clothed with laurels, and the *corona civica* was fixed above my door, and a golden shield was placed in the Curia Julia, which the senate and Roman people gave to me for the sake of my manliness, clemency, justice and devotion, as is shown by the inscription on this shield.

These awards have also been subject to manifold interpretations;⁵⁴ however, on the whole, the honors characterize Octavian as a savior and founder of the city in keeping with his refoundation of the *res publica*. The word *virtus* on the shield naturally foregrounds his exemplary masculinity and morality. The *corona civica*, in turn, was an oak wreath traditionally awarded to soldiers who had saved the life of a Roman citizen,⁵⁵ and coin legends clarify that its meaning was expanded to the whole citizenry for Augustus: "*ob civis servatos*," "on account of citizens having been saved."⁵⁶

Just to point out the contrast this forms with earlier imagery, during the initial moments of Octavian's victory between 30 and early 28, we can still perceive the more extreme methods of self-promotion evident in the trium-

⁵³ *Res Gestae* 34; cf. Eder, "Augustus and Tradition," 83.

⁵⁴ See in particular Duncan Fishwick, *The Imperial Cult in the Latin West* (Leiden: Brill, 1987), I:106–20 and Andreas Alföldi, *Die zwei Lorbeerbäume des Augustus* (Bonn: R. Habelt, 1973).

⁵⁵ Pliny *Natural History* 16.7.

⁵⁶ BMC Augustus 134, 139, 147; cf. Ovid *Tristia* 3.1.47–8.

viral period, such as a special association with the god Apollo and the overt glorification of his house and family. For example, Octavian's status as the son of the deified Julius Caesar was emphasized on coins,⁵⁷ and he completed many of his father's buildings, including the new *Forum Julium* with the enclosed Temple of Venus Genetrix, "Venus the Ancestress," and the associated senate house, the Curia Julia.⁵⁸ He also dedicated the Temple of the Divine Julius in the Roman forum in 29.⁵⁹ These structures formed a complex devoted to the Julian *gens* and its divine ancestors in the center of Roman public space – the forum and senate house.⁶⁰

Octavian also glorified himself and his family by furthering the republican trend of bringing the decoration and activities of public spaces into one's private home.⁶¹ In 28 B.C.E., he dedicated the Temple of Apollo inside his Palatine house.⁶² Not only did the connection to the first temple of Apollo dedicated inside the *pomerium* of Rome elevate the religious status of Octavian and his house, but, because it was an official *templum*, senate meetings could be held here.⁶³ Octavian's home thus became public space in combined political and religious terms.

In contrast, the new image of Augustus, the pious refounder, was in keeping with the developing conception of the civil wars as caused by immoral disrespect for Roman traditions and boundaries. Unlike these earlier elaborate glorifications of his family in both public and private spaces, the honors awarded to the newly renamed Augustus in 27 stopped at the doorway to his house. Not only did the placement of the laurels and *corona civica* draw attention to that boundary between public and private, this form of decoration of a victorious general's door and *atrium* was an accepted republican custom.⁶⁴ In addition, Augustus dramatized the reimposition of lines between public and private in other people's homes. A certain Scaurus had reused marble pillars in his own home taken from the elaborate temporary theater he erected during his aedileship of 58 B.C.E.; Augustus tore down that house and incorporated the pillars into a new permanent public theater.⁶⁵ Similarly, Augustus' right-hand

57 *RIC* 23, 253. For the history of Octavian's title "Divi filius," "Son of a god," and Octavian's other triumphal uses of his ties to Caesar, see Fishwick, *Imperial Cult*, I:73–9.

58 Dio 51.22.1.

59 Dio 51.22.4–9.

60 Zanker, *Power of Images*, 79–82.

61 See above, Chapter 1.

62 Dio 53.1.3.

63 *SC de Pisone* 1, Suetonius *Augustus* 29.3; cf. D. L. Thompson, "Meetings of the Roman Senate on the Palatine," *American Journal of Archaeology* 85 (1981): 335–9. On meeting places of the Roman senate, see Richard J. A. Talbert, *The Senate of Imperial Rome* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984), 113–20.

64 Dio 53.16.4; Alföldi, *Lorbeerbäume*, 4–17; Wiseman, "Conspicui Postes."

65 Pliny *Natural History* 36.7, Asconius *Against Scaurus* 45. Cf. Paul Zanker, "Drei Stadtbilder aus dem augusteischen Rom," in *L'urbis: espace urbain et histoire. Collection de l'École Française de Rome*

man, Agrippa, campaigned against the private hoarding of famous works of art and advertised his expenditure on public gardens and baths rather than on private luxuries.⁶⁶

The associations of each honor of 27, and Octavian's choices regarding them, are even more complex. The award of the *corona civica* subtly evoked Augustus' relationship to Caesar, as he had been awarded the oak wreath in 45 B.C.E.⁶⁷ Moreover, in the case of individuals, when the *corona civica* was awarded, the saved was traditionally under obligation to treat his savior as a father,⁶⁸ and both Cicero and Caesar received the title *Parens Patriae*, "Parent of the Fatherland," at the time each was considered for award of the *corona civica*.⁶⁹ Although as a result Augustus was sometimes called "father of the country" in literature, inscriptions, and coins long before he accepted a similar title in 2 B.C.E.,⁷⁰ in 27 he rejected the paternal image so often associated with the *corona civica*. At the moment of his ordering of the *res publica*, a more powerful message was respect for the distinction between family and state.

We can also see this trend in the absence of actions or even mention of the women of Augustus' family in the elaborate ceremonies and honors of the period. This contrasts sharply with the public activities and celebration of the wives and sisters of the triumvirs. Although they are undatable, circulated stories about the strict propriety maintained within Augustus' house may well come from this period – how his sister, wife, and daughter spun the cloth for his clothing, how his daughter's education, behavior, and dress were carefully controlled by her exemplary *pater*.⁷¹ We see again the way in which the public/private line was defined through gender, since Augustus' male relatives did appear in public in this period. For example, Octavian's nephew Marcellus and stepson Tiberius rode alongside his chariot in the triumph of 29.⁷² By custom, the sons of the triumphator accompanied him in the parade,⁷³ and we need only note that already Octavian was treating his stepson and nephew as substi-

98 (1987): 476–89; Marleen Boudreau Flory, "Sic Exempla Parantur: Livia's Shrine to Concordia and the Porticus Liviae," *Historia* 33 (1984): 309–30; Edwards, *Politics of Immorality*, 164–8, 176. Compare also the 15 B.C.E. case of Vedius Pollio, a freedman whose large home Augustus inherited, dismantled, and used as the site of a new public portico; Dio 54.23.5–6, Ovid *Fasti* 6.639–48; Zanker, *Power of Images*, 137–9.

66 Pliny *Natural History* 34.62, 35.26, 36.121, Dio 54.29.4–5, Gellius 14.5.1; Zanker, *Power of Images*, 139–41.

67 Appian *Civil Wars* 2.106, 442, 144.602; cf. Dio 44.4.4, Livy *Periocha* 116, Nicolaus of Damascus *Life of Augustus* 80, Suetonius *Caesar* 76.1, Florus 2.13.91, *ILS* 71, *ILLRP* 408, *CIL* 9.34.

68 Polybius 6.39.7, Cicero *For Plancius* 72, Gellius 5.6.8.

69 Andreas Alföldi, *Der Vater des Vaterlandes im römischen Denken* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1971), 27–130; Stephan Weinstock, *Divus Julius* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971), 200–5.

70 Horace *Odes* 3.24.25, 1.2.50, *ILS* 96, 101, *CIL* 10.823, *RIC* 296.

71 Suetonius *Augustus* 73, 64.2–3, Macrobius *Saturnalia* 2.4.31–2.5.8.

72 Suetonius *Tiberius* 6.4.

73 Cicero *For Murena* 11; cf. Livy 45.40.8, Valerius Maximus 5.10.2.

tute sons. Similarly, an arch honoring Augustus' birth father Octavius was probably erected in 27 B.C.E.,⁷⁴ in keeping with the republican habit of using these triumphal monuments to honor and advertise one's male ancestors.

The magisterial position of Augustus was revised in 23 B.C.E. in an event called by modern scholars the "Second Settlement."⁷⁵ Augustus relinquished his annual consulship; in subsequent years both consular positions were to be open to aristocratic competition. To compensate for his loss of a traditional role in civic administration, Augustus now accepted for the first time a five-year grant of *tribunicia potestas*, "the power of a tribune," unprecedentedly separated from the actual holding of the office.⁷⁶ In addition to providing him with legislative initiative, this new power presented Augustus as the protector of the people through reference to the tribunes of the *plebs*.⁷⁷ Adjustments were also made to Augustus' *provincia*; some territories under his direct control were returned to the senate, and he undertook caretakership of others. His loss of consular authority may have also occasioned a restatement of the nature of this provincial command.⁷⁸

Some scholars believe that this adjustment of Augustus' magisterial status marks the end of the development of the imperial system. In his recent assessment of the "Augustan Principate as a Binding Link" between the republic and the empire, Eder, echoing Syme, calls the period from 27 to 23 "the most important segment of the development of the principate."⁷⁹ However, two critical characteristics of the imperial system – the public role of the emperor's family and a means of transmitting power to a successor – are nowhere to be found. I would agree that Augustus' magisterial status did not change in the

74 Asconius *Against Piso* 44, *CIL* 6.1303, 1304, 31593, *ILS* 43. The arch of Octavius was topped by a famous statue of Apollo in a chariot; Pliny *Natural History* 36.36. Since stories had circulated in the triumphal period that Octavian was actually the son of Apollo, the statue may thus have helped the arch commemorate two of Octavian's "fathers"; Suetonius *Augustus* 94.4, Dio 45.2–3. See Kleiner, "Arch of Octavius"; Flory, "Dynastic Ideology," 291; and Rowell, "Forum and Funeral," 134.

75 In general, see Eder, "Augustus and Tradition," 107–11; W. K. Lacey, "Augustus and the Senate, 23 B.C.," *Antichthon* 19 (1985): 57–67; and Brunt, "Role of the Senate." On the timing and motivations for the change, see especially Ernst Badian, "'Crisis Theories' and the Beginning of the Principate," in *Romanitas-Christianitas: Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Literature der römischen Kaiserzeit*, ed. G. Wirth (Berlin: W. de Gruyter, 1982), 18–41.

76 *Res Gestae* 10, Tacitus *Annals* 1.9.2, Dio 53.32.5–6.

77 On tribunician power, see especially W. K. Lacey, "Summi fastigii vocabulum: The Story of a Title," *Journal of Roman Studies* 69 (1979): 28–34; on the history of the tribunes of the *plebs* in Roman politics, see Lukas Thommen, *Das Volkstribunat der späten römischen Republik* (Stuttgart: F. Steiner, 1989) and Jochen Bleicken, *Das Volkstribunat der klassischen Republik*, 2nd edn (Munich: Beck, 1968).

78 For analyses of Augustus' *imperium*, see especially Eder, "Augustus and Tradition," 106–7 and Ernst Badian, "The Young Betti and the Practice of History," in *Costituzione romana e crisi della repubblica*, ed. G. Crifò (Naples: Edizioni scientifiche italiane, 1986).

79 "Augustus and Tradition," 88.

years following, but this is because his presentation of his role in Roman society shifted into other modes of discourse, rather than ceasing to develop altogether.

An important example of this may be found in what I call the “Third Settlement.” Augustus was largely absent from the city of Rome between 22 and 19 B.C.E., traveling in the east to negotiate the return of the legionary standards lost by Crassus and Antony to the Parthians. During the years immediately following his triumphant return, he enacted a package of legislation enforcing the Roman behavior he thought appropriate to the restored *res publica*. By criminalizing adultery, encouraging marriage and childrearing, and regulating everything from seating in the theater to the private display of wealth, these new laws cast Augustus as a savior of the state in the context of Roman morality, thus adding to his status as military and political restorer of the *res publica*.⁸⁰ As Augustus himself described the responsibilities, he worked as a “curator legum et morum,” a “guardian of law and customs,” in 19, 18, and 11 B.C.E.⁸¹ The laws he passed worked within, and may have helped shape, the conceptualization of the civil wars as a product of internal immorality and inappropriate behavior. As we shall see, as well, the legislation also brought public attention to the relationship between individuals, their families, and the state, forming an important context for the public promotion of the family of Augustus in the years following.

We have only hints about the number, variety and content of most of the Julian laws passed in this period. Suetonius says that at this time Augustus enacted laws “sumptuariam et de adulteriis et de pudicitia, de ambitu, de maritandis ordinibus,” “sumptuary and about adultery and about chastity, about electoral bribery, about the classes marrying.”⁸² We also know of a *lex Julia theatralis* and a *lex Julia de vi*, “on violence,” sometimes assigned to these years.⁸³ Dio mentions in the particular context of 18 B.C.E. fines on orators who took fees for their services as advocates, the forbidding of those drawn as jurors from entering private homes, and increased fines for senators absent or late from senate meetings.⁸⁴

Taken as a whole, Augustus’ laws of this period attempt to assert social order, with particular attention to the interconnected realms of citizenship, status, and morality. For example, a law on electoral bribery regulated how men got elected, some of the parameters of this civic duty, and the moral behavior expected of candidates. The adultery law, discussed in more detail

80 See Susan Treggiari, “*Leges sine moribus*,” *Ancient History Bulletin* 8.3 (1994): 86–98, who reads the laws and their context in a similar fashion.

81 *Res Gestae* 6, cf. Dio 54.30.1, Suetonius *Augustus* 27.

82 *Augustus* 34.

83 Rawson, Elizabeth, “Discrimina Ordinum,” *Papers of the British School at Rome* 55 (1987): 83–114; Edwards, *Politics of Immorality*, 111–12, Treggiari, *Roman Marriage*, 310.

84 54.18.3.

below, allowed the community to take over prosecution of an adulteress if her father and husband failed to do so, thus defining a man's control of his female relatives as another of his civic duties. Finally, the theater law arranged seating in accordance with rank, class, gender, marital, and military status, providing a clear visual impression and physical experience of a carefully stratified and ordered society for all theater-goers.⁸⁵ Augustus' laws thus collectively define a properly ordered state and the nature of each citizen's participation in it. In turn, they also proclaim in a new way that Augustus had successfully ended the civil wars, because he had restored the traditional public boundaries and behaviors whose decay had brought about such crises.

Most of these topics, of course, had been the subject of legislation during the republic. The senators had received special seats in the theater as early as 195 B.C.E.⁸⁶ To promote his marriage law, Augustus used a speech given by a censor of the late second century, and Cicero had argued it was a censor's duty to prohibit celibacy.⁸⁷ Tribunes and consuls had legislated dozens of sumptuary laws, rules for the behavior of state officials, and methods of prosecuting those who committed public violence.⁸⁸ On its own, each of these topics of Augustus' legislation stood in a long tradition, and Augustus himself may have promulgated some similar laws before 19 B.C.E.⁸⁹ We also saw earlier in the chapter how late republican and triumviral writers had related the poor health of the state to the low morality of the citizenry long before Augustus, and even more in the early years following his victory, revealing a broad context for this legislation.

Some of the details and even topics of Augustus' laws, however, were innovative, and are worthy of special attention. Of particular interest to us are elements which complicated the relationship between the duties of family and

85 Zanker, *Power of Images*, 149–53.

86 Theodor Mommsen, *Römisches Staatsrecht* (Basel: B. Schwabe, 1893), 893, n. 3; Cicero *For Murena* 40.

87 Augustus' speech: Livy, *Periocha*, 59, Gellius 1.6; Cicero on censors: *On the Laws* 3.7; cf. Livy *Periocha* 59, Gellius 1.6. In general during the republic, part of a man's civic duty was to have children for the state, and the only way to have legitimate children was to have a wife; the census procedure thus asked a man to declare his marital status and the number of his children; Cicero *On Orators* 2.260, Gellius 4.20, Livy 43.14.8, Festus 58 in Lindsay, "Festus."

88 Cf. Erich S. Gruen, *The Last Generation of the Roman Republic* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974), 211–59.

89 Themes of the new legislation of 19–17 are evident in a temple to the goddess of Chastity that was rebuilt among the others restored in 28; Diana E. E. Kleiner, "Imperial Women as Patrons of the Arts in the Early Empire," in *I Claudia. Women in Ancient Rome*, eds Diana E. E. Kleiner and Susan B. Matheson (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1996), 33. Also, in 22 Augustus appointed two censors and passed some sumptuary legislation; Dio 54.1. Finally, we have some evidence for an earlier marriage law of 27 B.C.E., although its nature and existence are highly controversial; see Ernst Badian, "A Phantom Marriage Law," *Philologus* 129 (1985): 82–98; Thomas McGinn, *Prostitution, Sexuality and the Law in Ancient Rome* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 71.

state. Moreover, by regulating certain areas of life previously under the purview of Roman fathers, these laws provided conceptual space for a paternal relationship between Augustus and the civic community.

As noted above, state concern for procreation and the marriage of citizens for that purpose was not new to the Augustan period. Even so, the *lex Julia de maritandis ordinibus*, “the Julian law on the orders marrying,” passed in 18 B.C.E., created a system of legal rewards for married parents and penalties for the unwed and childless far beyond its precedents.⁹⁰ The law prohibited senators, their children, and later descendants in the male line from marrying ex-slaves, actors, and actors’ children.⁹¹ A primary concern of the legislation was thus to strengthen class lines by discouraging senators from disgracing their elite order by marrying beneath them. In turn, all free-born citizens were forbidden from marrying “infamous” people, which consisted of at least pimps, women convicted of adultery or otherwise condemned in public court, actresses, and probably prostitutes.⁹² Thus, all citizen men were to avoid weakening Rome by marrying women whose chastity had proven uncontrollable. These provisions point directly to the ideological ties between carefully bounded Roman families, defined by the control of women’s sexuality, and the health of the state.

Other provisions of the law reinforced this connection between marital and familial status and ideas of citizenship. For example, a man was allowed to deduct one year from the minimum age for a magistracy for each child he had.⁹³ Of the two consuls, the Julian law declared the one with more children, and not the elder or first elected, to have seniority,⁹⁴ and the number of a man’s

90 The most recent and thorough discussions of the ancient sources and modern bibliography are McGinn, *Prostitution*, 70–84; Treggiari, *Roman Marriage*, 60–80; and M. H. Crawford, ed., *Roman Statutes* (London: Institute of Classical Studies, 1996), 2:801–9. See also Andrew Wallace-Hadrill, “Family and Inheritance in the Roman Marriage Laws,” *Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society* 27 (1981): 58–80; Leo Ferrero Raditsa, “Augustus’ Legislation Concerning Marriage, Procreation, Love Affairs and Adultery,” *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt* II.13 (1980): 278–339; and Pál Csillag, *The Augustan Laws on Family Relations*, trans. József Decsényi (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1976). In 9 C.E., an apparent lack of compliance was addressed through the passage of a new marriage law, the *lex Papia Poppaea*; Tacitus *Annals* 3.25, 28, Dio 56.1–10. Unfortunately, later jurists tend to conflate the two laws, and thus the details of the earlier legislation and the differences between them can be difficult to determine. Surviving quotations of the law itself and later legal discussions, presented in full by Treggiari, *Roman Marriage*, nevertheless provide a good sense of its aims and character.

91 *Digest* 23.3.44.

92 *Tituli Ulpiani* 13.2, *Digest* 23.2.43 pr.–5. Treggiari provides useful evidence that marriages that violated these provisions of the law were still considered valid, but did not confer the privileges of a marriage in accord with the law; *Roman Marriage*, 63–4; *Tituli Ulpiani* 16.2, *Fragmentum Vaticanum* 168. For a full discussion of those excluded, see McGinn, *Prostitution*, 91–104.

93 *Digest* 4.4.2, Pliny *Epistles* 7.16.2.

94 Gellius 2.15.

children was also taken into account in assigning post-magisterial governorships.⁹⁵ Other classes were addressed as well. For example, freedpersons were exempt from duties to their patrons if they had at least two children.⁹⁶ Three surviving children exempted a man from the expensive duty of serving as a guardian or caretaker.⁹⁷ Neither spouse was allowed to inherit from the other if they married in contradiction of the Julian and Papian-Poppaeian laws.⁹⁸ Perhaps most significantly, beyond a certain degree of relation, the childless were not allowed to accept inheritances and legacies.⁹⁹

As a result of this legislation, whether or not a person was married and how many children he or she had became part of their legal status in Roman society, related to their class status, electability, economic independence, and the like. Augustus thus used this law to define citizenship and civic duty. A ban on the attendance of the unmarried at public games clarifies this – being an adult citizen meant being married and having children, and not even trying to procreate meant failing the civic community and becoming unwelcome at public events.¹⁰⁰ In her study of Roman marriage, Treggiari concludes that the law “had considerable impact on the marital experience of at least the upper classes for the rest of the pagan period.”¹⁰¹

The implications of Augustus’ definition of this duty are seen in the case of women, as maternity was also specially rewarded. A free woman who had three children, or a freed woman who had four, was exempted from lifelong guardianship.¹⁰² The law allowed women a grace period of one year after the death of a husband and six months after a divorce;¹⁰³ otherwise, like men, they had a civic duty to marry and have children. Augustus’ law thus legally and ideologically recognized women as patriots and protectors of Rome. That motherhood was conceived of as a public role is revealed in the fact that this new exemption from *tutela* was probably modeled on the legal status of the Vestal Virgins, who had been released from the burden of guardianship early in the republic in recognition of their importance as state priestesses.¹⁰⁴ It is worth noting that the Vestals cared for Rome in part through their sexual abstinence; matrons would now be publicly honored for chaste reproduction.

95 Tacitus *Annals* 15.19, Fronto *Letters to Antoninus Pius* 8.1, Dio 53.13.2.

96 *Digest* 38.1.37 pr.

97 Justinian *Institutes* 1.25 pr.

98 *Tituli Ulpiani* 16.2.

99 Gaius 2.111, *Fragmentum Vaticanum* 214, 216–17, *Tituli Ulpiani* 17.1.

100 CIL 6.3243.57, Dio 54.30.5.

101 *Roman Marriage*, 60.

102 Gaius 1.145, 194; cf. Dixon, “*Infirmas Sexus*.”

103 *Tituli Ulpiani* 14. The grace period was extended by the Papio-Poppaeian law.

104 Nicholas Purcell, “Livia and the Womanhood of Rome,” *Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society* 32 (1986): 85; Gaius *Institutes* 145.

These trends and ideas may also be seen in the *lex Julia* on adultery,¹⁰⁵ whose primary aim was to punish the deliberate sexual activity of married women with men who were not their husbands.¹⁰⁶ The woman could only be charged if she met certain criteria of respectability: slaves, freedwomen, prostitutes, procuresses, and actresses did not count.¹⁰⁷ This law thus reinforced the construction of class boundaries along lines of sexual availability and “respectability.” Moreover, among the privileged Roman citizenry, the control of married women’s sexuality, or the maintenance of the boundary between men’s households that it represented, was ideologically tied to the health of the state by the most radical innovation of the law – the establishment of a permanent court for adultery. In other words, Augustus made adultery a state crime.¹⁰⁸ Moreover, prosecution in this court was required by the law itself.

105 The law was referred to in a variety of ways, including *de adulteriis*, “on adulteries” (*Digest* 48.5.18, 20, 26), *de adulteriis coercendis*, “on repressing adulteries” (*Digest* 48.5, Justinian *Institutes* 4.18.4), *de adulteriis et de stupro*, “on adulteries and immorality” (Gaius *Institutes* 9.9), *de pudicitia*, “on chastity” (Gaius *Institutes* 9.9.8), and *de adulteriis et de pudicitia*, “on adulteries and on chastity” (Suetonius *Augustus* 34). The ancient jurist Papinian observed that the law used the words *adulterium* and *stuprum* interchangeably, so no strong difference is intended between these references (*Digest* 48.5.6.1).

As with the *lex Julia de maritandis ordinibus*, our sources tend not to distinguish between the original Augustan legislation and later revisions and interpretations; *Digest* 48.5, Paul *Sententiae* 2.26; cf. Treggiari, *Roman Marriage*, 279–80. However, the general elements of Augustus’ law can be recovered. For a full bibliography, see McGinn, *Prostitution*, 140–7; Edwards, *Politics of Immorality*, 34–62; Treggiari, *Roman Marriage*, 277–98; Crawford, *Roman Statutes*, 781–6; but see also in general Eva Cantarella, “Homicides of Honor: The Development of Italian Adultery Law over Two Millennia,” and David Cohen, “The Augustan Law on Adultery: The Social and Cultural Context,” both in *The Family in Italy from Antiquity to the Present*, eds David I. Kertzer and Richard P. Saller (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1991), 229–44 and 109–26; S. des Bouvrie, “Augustus’ Legislation on Morals – Which Morals and What Aims?” *Symbolae Osloenses* 59 (1984): 93–113; and Csillag, *Augustan Laws*, 175–99.

106 A man’s relations with virgins, widows, divorced women of respectable status, and other men were also addressed; *Digest* 48.5.6, 5.35, Paul *Sententiae* 2.26.12.

107 *Digest* 48.5.6 pr., Paul *Sententiae* 2.26.16, Tacitus *Annals* 2.85.1–4, Suetonius *Tiberius* 35, *Digest* ht. 11 pr., 14.2. On the legal disabilities of prostitutes and pimps, and their relationship to definitions of citizenship, see especially McGinn, *Prostitution*, 21–69, 194–202.

108 See especially Cantarella, “Homicides of Honor;” Cohen, “Augustan Law on Adultery,” 124–5; Dieter Nörr, “Planung in der Antike,” in *Freiheit und Sachzwang: Beiträge zu Ehren Helmut Schelskys*, ed. Horst Baier (Oplanden: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1977), 309–34; R. A. Bauman, “Some Remarks on the Structure and Survival of the *quaestio de adulteriis*,” *Antichthon* 2 (1968): 68–93; Peter Garnsey, “Adultery Trials and the Survival of the *quaestiones* in the Severan Age,” *Journal of Roman Studies* 57 (1967): 56–60. Although the court is referred to in the statutes and by jurists, none of the trials described in the literary sources took place there. However, such cases involved members of the aristocracy, which is why they interested ancient writers, but also resulted in the trials being heard before the emperor or the senate, as became customary for defendants of high status; Edwards, *Politics of Immorality*, 39.

For example, a man was responsible for divorcing and prosecuting a wife he caught in adultery; after the divorce, he and her father had sixty days to accuse her.¹⁰⁹ If a man failed to divorce and prosecute wife he knew to be adulterous, he could be charged with pimping.¹¹⁰ If a man divorced his wife but neither he nor her father initiated prosecution within the allotted time, *extranei*, “outsiders,” had the right to prosecute for the next four months.¹¹¹ Those who aided the adulterous couple were also liable.¹¹² The Augustan law thus enjoined all members of society to monitor the sexual behavior of married women: that is, to maintain the moral and ideological boundary between men’s households, the weakness of which was considered a potential danger to the health of Rome. By making adultery a public crime, an offence with which the state should concern itself, the law confirms that a primary aim of this whole package of legislation was to restore the ancient Roman morality whose decay was thought to have resulted in the breakdown of the *res publica*.

In general, Augustus’ family legislation, drawing on the contemporary understanding of the civil wars, officially made proper family behavior part of a citizen’s duty. The laws heavily encouraged citizens to marry and procreate in a chaste and respectable manner for the good of the *res publica*. One’s family responsibilities thus became primary duties to the community, in addition to the monitoring of other families for failures in this regard.¹¹³ Significantly, these newly politicized family roles included those of women. In fact, their status as good or bad citizens was publicly marked; just as women with three children wore a special form of the respected matron’s *stola*,¹¹⁴ the convicted adulteress was required to wear the *toga* worn by prostitutes.¹¹⁵ In this context, it will not surprise us to see Augustus’ female relatives presenting themselves as model wives and mothers when they emerged onto the public stage in subsequent years.

Moreover, not only did Augustus thus ideologically involve women in the state much more than had been the case before, the precise way he did this – encouraging marriage and childrearing – took over for himself a traditional role of their male relatives. In a variety of ways, the Julian laws on the marrying of the orders and adultery actually cut across the boundaries between

109 *Digest* 48.5.2.8, 12.7–13, 15.2, *Theodosian Code* 9.19.4, *Gaius Institutes* 9.9.1.

110 *Digest* 48.5.30 pr.

111 *Digest* 48.5.4.1, ht. 30.5–6.

112 *Digest* 48.5.9–10, 11.1; cf. Treggiari, *Roman Marriage*, 288–9, *contra* David Daube, “The *Lex Julia* Concerning Adultery,” *Irish Jurist* 7 (1972): 102–16.

113 Not only did the adultery law allow prosecution by outsiders, a proviso in the *lex Julia* on public violence encouraged others to prosecute if a father failed to charge an abductor or rapist of his daughter; *Digest* 48.6.5.2.

114 Csillag, *Augustan Laws*, 173; Emil Hübner, “Zu Propertius,” in *Commentationes philologiae in honorem Theodori Mommseni scripserunt amici* (Berlin: Weidmann, 1877), 98–113.

115 Martial 2.39, 10.52; Edwards, *Politics of Immorality*, 40.

public and private they were trying to enforce, and inserted the state or Augustus into private families. For example, clauses in wills which required the beneficiary not to marry or have children were nullified by the law on marriage.¹¹⁶ Freedpersons who had sworn to their patrons they would not marry were permitted to break their oaths.¹¹⁷ The marriage law also enabled legal action against fathers who kept their children from marrying and allowed the urban praetor to appoint a special guardian for a woman whose current guardian could not provide her with a dowry.¹¹⁸ By telling everyone how to behave within their families, Augustus set himself as a model and source of authority above the rest, and as one capable of evaluating the morality of others. This was in part the traditional job of the censor; however, by intruding upon the Roman father's rights to control sexuality, marriage, and procreation within his own family, Augustus was also acting as a father over all families and over the community itself.¹¹⁹ We shall see even more of this as Augustus' self-presentation and ideological role developed over time.

In conclusion, although official concern for marriage and childbearing was not unprecedented, the ways in which Augustus legislated these areas of private life changed in some critical ways the conceptual relationship of the family to the state. By making adultery a state crime, by giving political and financial rewards to married parents, and by politicizing the roles of women, the laws complicated familial and political identities. Moreover, the laws achieved many of these tasks by interfering with the traditional prerogatives of the Roman father, including the final say in the marriage of his children and responsibility for the control of the women of his household. These forms of Augustan intercession into the private family put him in the role of a *pater* over all families, as the ultimate source of moral authority and its enforcer within the household.

The "Third Settlement" worked within the themes of Augustus' self-presentation of 28–23 as the restorer of the *res publica*, but also within contemporary discourses of Roman morality. As such, it can be read both as the last stage of his nostalgic "restoration" of the past and as a period of critical transition away from more traditionally magisterial definitions of his role in the state.

116 Paul *Sententiae* 3.4b.2.

117 *Digest* 37.14.6.4.

118 *Digest* 23.2.19, *Tituli Ulpiani* 11.20.

119 Cf. Edwards, *Politics of Immorality*, 29. Cato and Cicero conceived of the censor as a kind of father to the state; Gellius 10.23, Cicero *On the Res Publica* 4.6.16. Similarly, in an ode published in 23 B.C.E., Horace called for a *pater urbium*, "father of cities," to restrain immorality in the public interest; 3.24.27–9.

CELEBRATING THE NEW ORDER:
THE *LUDI SAECULARES*

In 17 B.C.E., this freshly complicated relationship between family and state was played out on a grand scale at the festival which closed the “Third Settlement,” the *Ludi Saeculares*. The Saecular Games or “The Games of a New Era” were a traditional ceremony marking the passage of a *saeculum*, a sacred period of one hundred and ten years.¹²⁰ However, Augustus reformulated the event to celebrate the revival of Rome after the civil wars, and particularly the revival of morality in Roman family life, in reference to his own recent legislation. Thus, choruses of Roman maidens, of matrons, and of young boys sang hymns of thanksgiving to the Roman state gods. Augustus’ leadership and savior role in all aspects of life were underscored by his own role in the ceremonies. Nowhere amidst all this pomp and circumstance celebrating women and children, however, was there a role played by or even a recorded appearance made by any member of Augustus’ family. This phase of the development of Augustus’ role in the state politicized the Roman family, but had not created an imperial family.

For 17 B.C.E., Augustus and Agrippa were elected *magistri* of the priestly college of the *XVviri sacris faciundis*, “the board of fifteen men for performing sacred rites.” A specialist in sacred law was employed to formulate a series of rituals, in the end combining the *Ludi*’s traditional propitiation of underworld deities with new elements emphasizing renewal, fertility and health. Heralds announced the approach of the festival for months in advance, and edicts were posted informing people of the necessary preparations, as the populace was incorporated into the events in several ways.¹²¹ All those who wanted to attend the three-day event were required to perform private rituals of expiation and purification beforehand. The *XVviri*, including Augustus, personally distributed the implements for this purification from temples on the Capitoline and the Palatine hills.¹²² On the days before the festival began, priests received harvest offerings from the people on the Aventine.¹²³ Finally, for the duration of the *Ludi*, the senate exempted the unmarried from the ban against their attendance at public games imposed by Augustus’ marriage law.¹²⁴ In these ways, the entire populace was drawn into a festival of renewal clearly associated with the person of Augustus.

120 For a general introduction and bibliography, see Mary Beard, John North, and Simon Price, *Religions of Rome*, vol. I: *A History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 71–2, 201–6.

121 Suetonius *Claudius* 21, *CIL* 6.32323.24–49 (= *ILS* 5050).

122 *CIL* 6.32323.64–75, Zosimus 2.5.

123 *CIL* 6.32323.76–89, Zosimus 2.5–6.

124 *CIL* 6.32323.50–7.

The *Ludi Saeculares* themselves were a series of religious performances at important cult sites in the middle of Rome. The night before each festival day, Augustus made offerings or sacrifices to underground deities, including the Fates, Ilythia (the goddess of childbirth), and Mother Earth.¹²⁵ During the days, Augustus and his priestly colleague Agrippa made sacrifices to the major gods of the Roman pantheon, Jupiter Optimus Maximus and Juno Regina,¹²⁶ and to the gods special to Augustus, Apollo, and his sister Diana.¹²⁷ The places in which the sacrifices occurred also emphasized the associations of the state with its savior; Jupiter and Juno were celebrated on the Capitoline, and Apollo and Diana on the Palatine, near the house of Augustus.

Married women, whose behavior had become legally as well as rhetorically tied to the health of the state, were given an appropriately active part in the proceedings of this state festival. During both the day and night sacrifices, *matronae* held sacred banquets.¹²⁸ In addition, on the second day of the Games, 110 matrons, one for each year in the Roman *saeculum*, sang a hymn to Juno Regina, and “*nuptae genibus nixae*,” “brides having labored on their knees,” offered prayers.¹²⁹ Other aspects of the Games honored families as units. On the third day, choruses of boys and girls, whose parents were both to be living, sang Horace’s *Carmen Saeculare* on the Palatine and Capitoline hills.¹³⁰

In contrast to this overt and unusual celebration of women, children, and families in a civic festival, we find no mention of the women and children of Augustus’ family, even though they may well have been present. Some of the prayers request from the gods special protection for the speaker’s, that is for Augustus’, household:

Harum rerum ergo macte hac agna femina inmolanda estote fitote
v[olente]s propitiae p. R. Quiritibus, XVvirum collegio, mihi, domo,
familiae.

For the sake of these things, as this ewe is sacrificially offered, may
you be and become willingly propitious to the Roman people, the
citizens, the college of the *XVviri*, me, my house and family.¹³¹

However, much as with the honors of 27 B.C.E., the celebration of Augustus’ household stopped at his front door. Although his own legislation had in part

125 *CIL* 6.32323.90–9, 115–18, 134–8, Zosimus 2.5.

126 *CIL* 6.32323.103–7, 119–22.

127 *CIL* 6.32323.139–46.

128 *CIL* 6.32323.100–10, 134–8.

129 *CIL* 6.32323.123–32.

130 *CIL* 6.32323.147–9, Zosimus 2.5.

131 *CIL* 6.32323.98–9. This is probably a traditional part of the prayer; cf. Cato *On Agriculture* 134, 139, 141; Beard, North and Price, *Religions of Rome*, I:202.

given women responsibility for the health of Rome, the silence of his own female relatives attested to the exemplary control which he exerted over them. Augustus' self-presentation was still being driven by a desire to contrast with Antony and other triumviral opponents, whose disrespect for social boundaries and other moral failings were now blamed in collective memory for the civil wars.

Not dissimilar in scope to the ceremony of 28–27 B.C.E. that had restored the *res publica* and created Augustus, the *Ludi Saeculares* were a carefully orchestrated series of events and images communicating the renewal of an ideal, ordered form of Roman society. Instead of working in legal and magisterial terms to mark the return of governmental order, however, this ceremony used religious rites to celebrate the renewed moral order of the Roman family and community. Augustus and his colleague Agrippa performed sacrifices to a family of Roman gods, and choruses of matrons, girls and boys sang them hymns. Married women enjoyed a series of sacred banquets, and the entire population of the city participated in rites of purification, as well as watching theatrical performances and circus games. Amidst all of these matrons and children – symbols of the private family – the only official father figure was Augustus, in front of whose house many of the rites were celebrated. However, the members of his own household stayed silent, emphasizing again his exemplary management of his own family. In many ways, the *Ludi Saeculares* celebrated how Augustus had restored the *res publica*.

CONCLUSIONS

Although in the years immediately following his victory at Actium Octavian continued with the propaganda themes of the triumviral period, by 28 B.C.E. he was beginning to mark a change. Restoring everything from roads and temples to political ceremonies and the line between women and public life, Octavian prepared to reestablish the Rome of the pre-civil wars period – the task assigned to the triumvirs. Finally, in January of 27 Octavian returned control of the reordered *res publica* to the senate and people of Rome, who in turn commissioned him to continue taking care of it. His role was defined in traditional magisterial terms, and the special honors he received, including the new name “Augustus,” celebrated his miraculous reestablishment of order. The legal position he negotiated with the senate was revised in 23, after which Augustus' magisterial status changed little before his death in 14 C.E. Between 28 and 23 B.C.E., he thus presented his relationship to the state in magisterial terms.

That Augustus was aiming to refashion his public image in this period is confirmed by another event in the year 27. Augustus collected around eighty silver statues of himself, melted them down, and then used the funds to set up

gold tripods in the Temple of Apollo in his own name and the name of those who had dedicated the original statues.¹³² In addition to creating an overt act of piety, this was a most effective way of removing dozens of non-*Augustan* images from Rome, and it forms a visual counterpart to his adoption of a new name. In turn, images of the awards of 27 were widely taken up in public and private art, from altars to oil lamps.¹³³ When the Roman mint began to issue bronzes again between 23 and 19 B.C.E., denominations were distinguished not by portraits of various gods, as before, but by different references to the name “Augustus,” the *corona civica*, and the laurel branches at his door. The new name, the removal of many old images and the wide spread of new ones enhanced the feeling of change evoked by the political ceremonies of the restoring of the *res publica*, and presented its restorer in a new light.¹³⁴

A new tack, but in similar seas, was taken up after Augustus advertised his reassertion of the strong image of the Roman military abroad by negotiating the return of the standards from Parthia in 19 B.C.E. In accord with the manner in which the civil wars had come to be understood as a failure of Roman morality, usually expressed as illicit crossings of critical social boundaries, Augustus initiated a package of legislation reinforcing the behavior appropriate to a renewed *res publica*. Between 19 and 17 B.C.E., he passed laws requiring attendance at the senate, regulating seating by class and marriage status in the theater, outlawing marriage across class boundaries, criminalizing adultery for the first time, and encouraging marriage and childrearing, particularly among the political class. This restitution of lost Roman morality, particularly in family life, was then celebrated in the Games of a New Era. The publicized aim of this legislation was to cure the ills of Roman society that had caused the civil wars. However, an important effect was to make many matters once conceptually restricted to the private sphere part of public discourse. Moreover, in taking charge of these matters, Augustus took on a fatherly role over his fellow citizens.

By making use of contemporary longing for “the good old days” and an appeal to political tradition, Augustus provided hope for stability in the present. For many Romans, this must have been the first period of optimism in perhaps a generation – he stopped the intense recruiting of soldiers, shrank the size of the army the state had to support, and organized the repair of buildings, waterways and roads. In the next generation, Velleius summarizes the effect well, including the sanctity of the man who had brought about this revival:

Nihil deinde optare a dis homines, nihil dii hominibus praestare possunt, nihil voto concipi, nihil felicitate consummari, quod non Augustus post reditum in urbem rei publicae populoque Romano

132 *Res Gestae* 24, Suetonius *Augustus* 52.

133 Alföldi, *Lorbeerbäume*, 15–17, 30–9, 46–50.

134 Cf. Zanker, *Power of Images*, 89–100.

terrarumque orbi repraesentaverit. Finita vicesimo anno bella civilia, sepulta externa, revocata pax, sopitus ubique armorum furor, restituta vis legibus, iudicii auctoritas, senatui maiestas, imperium magistratuum ad pristinum redactum modum . . . Prisca illa et antiqua rei publicae forma revocata. Rediit cultus agris, sacris honos, securitas hominibus, certa cuique rerum suarum possessio; leges emendatae utiliter, latae salubriter; senatus sine asperitate nec sine severitate lectus.

There is nothing that men hope for from the gods, nothing the gods are able to provide for men, nothing that can be obtained by solemn prayer, nothing that can be accomplished with good fortune, which Augustus did not immediately accomplish for the *res publica*, the Roman people, and the world, after his return to the city. In the twentieth year the civil wars were ended, the foreign wars were put to rest, peace was recalled, and the fury of arms was lulled, strength was restored to the laws, authority to judgments, respect to the senate, and the *imperium* of the magistrates was brought back to its original form . . . That pristine and ancient form of the *res publica* was recalled. Agriculture returned to the fields, honor to sacred rites, security to men, and for each, certain possession of his own belongings; laws were emended usefully and passed beneficially, and the senate was revised without bitterness, but not without severity.¹³⁵

At this time in 17 B.C.E., Augustus' power in the state was very great, but also very charismatic, and identified with him alone. This authority was expressed in forms developed over the preceding decade: a leadership in *pietas* to the gods and to the state, in consulships, *tribunicia potestas*, and an ultimate responsibility for the military and morality. These powers had accrued to Octavian Augustus for his unusual caretakership of the state and his advertised success in restoring the idealized *res publica*.

The political, legal and military changes of this period, however, did not just shape the state and Augustus' role in it. In the reforms and ceremonies directed at the citizens of Rome, we have seen a growing politicization of the family in practice and in concept. Despite a significant absence of Augustus' family from the public scene, changes in the conceptual relationship between family and community, and the degree to which private matters had become part of public affairs, created a potent atmosphere for the promulgation of his family in the years that followed. Moreover, they had already suggested a new way of conceiving of Augustus' role in the state – as the father of a Roman family.

135 2.89.3–4.

THE FAMILY OF AUGUSTUS, 25–12 B.C.E.

As we saw in the last chapter, during the first ten to fifteen years after the victory at Actium, most actions and imagery of the victor focused on his own significance to Rome. Even the services of the Saecular Games, which publicly celebrated the revival of the Roman family, hinted only vaguely at a tie between the safety of the state and the safety of Augustus' family. The decoration of the Ara Pacis, dedicated in 9 B.C.E., forms a remarkable contrast. On the altar to the goddess Peace, almost all images of peace and security come in the individually depicted forms of members of Augustus' family, both human and divine. What had changed since the *Ludi Saeculares* less than a decade earlier? Why was Augustus' family coming to be thought of and presented so differently, and why was it occurring now, so many years after his rise to power?

This chapter begins to analyze this previously under-recognized but important change in the conception and presentation of Augustus' family, a change which will be the focus of the next several chapters. First we will look at the internal dynamics and demographics of the household, since the coming of age of the next generation of the family between 25 and 17 B.C.E. may well have provided impetus towards this change. In their unusually endogamous marriages and adoption patterns we will see the delineation of Augustus' relatives as an exclusive and special group. In addition, some family decisions in these areas may be read as responding to Augustus' recent marriage legislation, and thus we can see the family of Augustus beginning to establish itself as a model aristocratic household, an important aspect of its later public image. A search for a *political* successor to Augustus in this period, however, proves unfruitful and anachronistic, since many of these actions were motivated by a desire to consolidate Augustus' hold on power, rather than transmit it to an heir. However, in the first few years after Augustus adopted his young grandsons in 17, a subtle but perceptible emphasis on his family becomes evident in public imagery in the city of Rome. We will thus see within this time of transition inside the house of Augustus the first experimental steps toward the development of an imperial family.

MARRIAGE PATTERNS

Two factors are especially critical in pondering the internal dynamics of Augustus' family between *c.* 25 and 12 B.C.E. First of all, as noted above, another generation came of age. Augustus' daughter, the sons of his wife Livia, and almost all the children of his sister Octavia were born between 42 and 36 B.C.E., making them between twenty-five and nineteen years old in 17.¹ By this time, the issue of marriage had already arisen for some, and the pattern of the ties they created shows a suggestive break from republican and triumviral marriage practices. Increasingly over time, members of Augustus' family married each other instead of even prominent outsiders. Although in an autocratic context this may be viewed as a practical adaptation of the Roman impulse to "marry up," it gradually cut off his family from the rest of the aristocracy. Second, Augustus' recent marriage legislation began to influence the timing and presentation of marriages and divorces within his family. Provisions rewarding childrearing encouraged members of the household to have large families and, in the case of Augustus, even adopt in order to avoid the appearance of failing Augustus' own laws. Thus his household's experience of the normal events of the Roman life cycle – coming-of-age, marriage, and children – combined with new sociopolitical contexts to make the period between 25 and 12 B.C.E. one of important change within and around the family of Augustus.

In the late republic and triumviral period, aristocratic marriages were often used to create alliances between powerful houses.² Octavian himself used such devices: he married Antony's stepdaughter in 43, and in 40 he wed Sextus Pompeius' kinswoman, while his sister married Antony. These ties were so important that, when children of marriageable age were not available, babies sufficed: in 39 Octavian betrothed his infant nephew to Sextus' baby daughter,³ while Tiberius and Agrippa's daughter were also engaged as small children.⁴

1 Julia was born in 39, Tiberius in 42, and Drusus in 38. We do not have a birth date for Marcella Maior, Octavia's eldest, but she married in 28 B.C.E. If she was sixteen at the time, she would have been born in 44 B.C.E., which puts her close to Octavia's other children, Marcellus (born in 42), Antonia Maior (39), and Antonia Minor (36). On this, see Ronald Syme, *The Augustan Aristocracy* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986), 143, 149 and Mireille Corbier, "La maison des Césars," in *Épouser au plus proche*, ed. Pierre Bonte (Paris: Éditions de l'École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, 1994), 258.

2 Corbier, "Constructing Kinship," 137; Dixon, "Marriage Alliance;" Treggiari, *Roman Marriage*, 89–94; Wiseman, *New Men*, 53. In "Family Behavior," p. 180, Corbier notes comments by Plutarch that the Romans tended to marry outside the family, unlike the Greeks, while Tacitus states that in earlier times the Romans had married strictly outside the family; *Moralia* 289d–e, 265d–e, *Roman Questions* 6; *Annals* 12.6.3.

3 Appian *Civil Wars* 5.73, Dio 48.38.3, 49.11.1.

4 Nepos *Life of Atticus* 19.4. Although the practice of betrothing infants was not restricted to the triumviral period, most of our known examples come from this time; Treggiari, *Roman*

After his victory over the other triumvirs, however, Octavian Augustus carefully controlled and almost eliminated this form of connection to himself. The process began early and in a manner reminiscent of the triumviral alliances, but Agrippa's family was the only one with which Augustus' relatives were allowed to intermarry regularly.⁵ Such concern over the ties of one's only child and chief ally are understandable; however, a tight endogamy gradually spread to create a largely closed group among the children and grandchildren of Augustus, his sister Octavia, and his wife Livia (Figure 3.1). Instead of using these many children to bind other aristocratic families to him, Augustus largely blocked such connections with his house. Octavia's daughter Antonia Maior did marry an outsider, Domitius Ahenobarbus, in the early to mid-20s B.C.E. However, Drusus the Elder, Livia's younger son, wed Octavia's daughter Antonia Minor in *c.* 16 B.C.E. When Agrippa died in 12 B.C.E., Tiberius divorced in order to marry Julia. The next generation repeated the pattern: Octavia's granddaughter Domitia Lepida married her grandson Messalla Barbatus around 8 B.C.E. Closer to 4 C.E., second cousins Germanicus and Agrippina married, as well as first cousins Drusus the Younger and Livilla. This was after Livilla was widowed by her second cousin, Gaius, whom she had married in 1 B.C.E.⁶

In fact, in the first two generations of Augustus' descendants, that is, among Augustus' daughter, stepsons, nieces and nephew and their offspring, twenty-three children are known to have been born before 10 B.C.E. These persons contracted eighteen known marriages, of which eight involved matches within this very group (Figure 3.1).⁷ If we include marriages to Agrippa and his daughter as internal, the number of endogamous marriages rises to eleven.⁸ Even some of those remaining might be considered internal: Marcella Maior, Octavia's daughter, married her stepbrother, the son of Antony and Fulvia raised by Octavia; Julia, Augustus' granddaughter, married the son of her mother's half-sister; and Claudia Pulchra and Vipsania, daughters of the

Marriage, 39–43, 153–5. For more on Octavian's marital alliances in this period, see especially Corbier, "Maison des Césars," 259–60.

5 Agrippa wed Octavian's niece Marcella Maior in 28. Then Augustus' nephew married his daughter Julia in 25. After Marcellus died, Agrippa divorced to marry Julia in 21.

6 For more on the strategies of these later marriages, see Corbier, "Maison des Césars," 263–8.

7 On the difficulties of precise genealogical reconstructions, see especially Corbier, "Maisons des Césars," 251–7. Augustus' daughter married his nephew Marcellus and stepson Tiberius; his stepson Drusus the Elder married niece Antonia Minor; daughter Julia's son Gaius married stepson's daughter Livilla; daughter Julia's daughter Agrippina married stepson Drusus' son Germanicus; stepson Tiberius' son Drusus the Younger also wed stepson Drusus the Elder's daughter Livilla; niece Marcella Minor's son Messalla Barbatus married niece Antonia Maior's daughter Domitia Lepida; niece Antonia Maior's son Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus wed granddaughter Agrippina the Younger, daughter of Germanicus and Agrippina the Elder.

8 Augustus' daughter Julia married Agrippa; his niece Marcella Maior married Agrippa; his stepson Tiberius married Agrippa's daughter Vipsania.

THE FAMILY OF AUGUSTUS, 25–12 B.C.E.

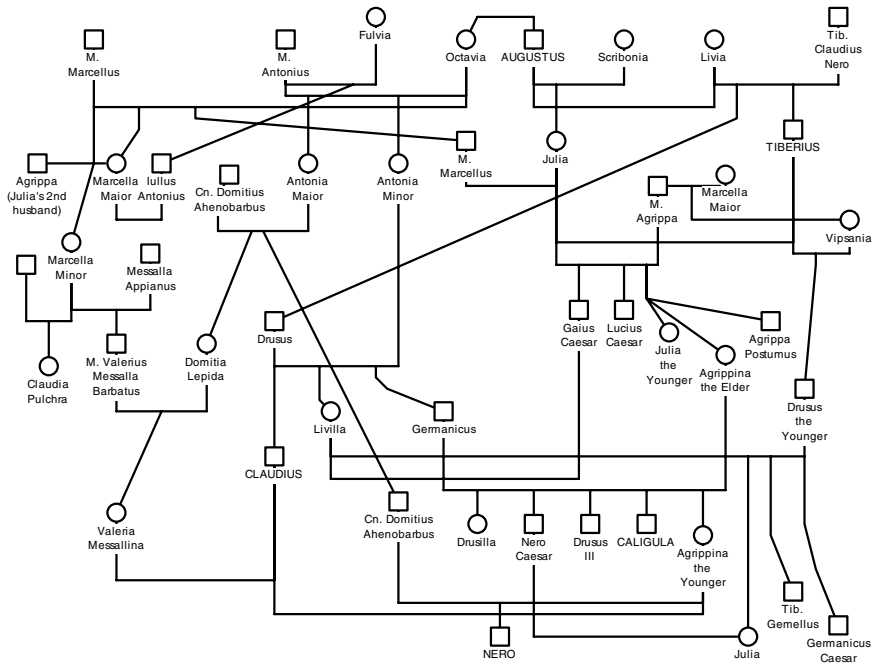


Figure 3.1 Male (square) and female (circle) descendants of Augustus, Livia, and Octavia, with emphasis on intrafamily marriages. Not all marriages or children are indicated; those presented are not necessarily in chronological order. Created using GenoPro.

Marcellae,⁹ consecutively wed the same man, P. Quintillius Varus. Moreover, of the “exogamous” marriages, at least two ended in public disgrace.¹⁰

Why? What motivated these marriage tactics? As we have seen, Roman aristocratic marriages formed powerful political ties between families. Each family’s aim was to contract such a tie with another family as powerful as possible. Frequent intermarriage among a large group of houses is thus a sign of a functioning oligarchy – many families had connections and other political capital to offer in the marriage market. Once Augustus had established himself as the single most powerful individual in Rome and as an individual there to stay, his family came to have the most to offer and the least to gain from

9 I concur with Syme that Vipsania is Agrippa’s daughter by Marcella Maior; see *Augustan Aristocracy*, 146.

10 Marcella Maior’s husband Iullus Antonius in 2 B.C.E., and Julia the Younger’s husband L. Aemilius Paullus in 8 C.E. The other marriages, the only strictly exogamous, were of Octavia’s daughters – Antonia Maior to L. Domitius Ahenobarbus, and Marcella Minor to Paullus Aemilius Lepidus and Messalla Appianus.

intermarriage. Corbier points out that this tendency toward endogamy can be observed among certain families in the late republic, and thus the Julio-Claudians did not innovate this marriage strategy.¹¹ In fact, Augustus, Livia, and Octavia may well never have made a definitive decision to stop creating marriages for their children outside of the family; however, each time a close relative of Augustus came of marriageable age, the most practical and prudent move was to keep the circle of social power closed if possible. In turn, each time such an internal marriage was made, the political value of familial ties to Augustus was effectively increased, and the pressure to make the next marriage internal became even greater. Due to the ages of the young members of the house, the years from 25 to 17 B.C.E. saw the beginning of this snowball effect.¹²

These practical and short-term decisions had significant consequences. The exclusivity of Augustus' house did more than just block a traditional form of alliance with him – it cast an aura of distinction about his house. Augustus' relations did not lightly consort with mere mortals. Those with family ties to the *Imperator* Gaius Julius Caesar Octavianus Augustus eventually came to be seen as special and different, a kind of people and a kind of family new to the Roman experience.

So why did any of Augustus' relatives marry outside the family? Note that during this period only women married exogamously.¹³ A surplus of women in the family thus forced them to look elsewhere if they were to marry at all.¹⁴ The Romans generally considered it unhealthy and unnatural for an adult woman to remain celibate,¹⁵ but normal pressure for them to marry was increased by Augustus' recent legislation. By the time of the decoration of the Ara Pacis in 9, and then increasingly thereafter, Augustus' relations not only followed the new rules concerning marriage and childrearing, they exemplified and even symbolized the ideals they contained. Members of his house thus needed to observe the laws carefully, even if some women had to marry outside of the family in order to do so.

Other difficulties also arose as a result of these aims and attitudes in creating marriages. The adultery/conspiracy charges against Julia in 2 B.C.E.,

11 "Family Behavior," 183; cf. Y. P. Thomas, "Mariages endogamiques à Rome: patrimoine, pouvoir et parenté depuis l'époque archaïque," *Revue Historique de Droit Français et Étranger* 58 (1980): 345–82.

12 Cf. Corbier, "Maison des Césars," 260–1.

13 Except for Claudius. He has been excluded from the study in as much as he was in many ways excluded from the public life of Augustus' family until his own accession, not to mention the fact that he did not come of age until c. 6 C.E.

14 For an analysis of the families who did marry into Augustus' house, see Syme, *Augustan Aristocracy*, *passim* and Corbier, "Maison des Césars," 268–73.

15 Mireille Corbier, "Divorce and Adoption as Roman Familial Strategies," in *Marriage, Divorce and Children in Ancient Rome*, ed. Beryl Rawson (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991): 55–7.

her daughter in 8 C.E., and their alleged partners will be viewed under these lights in a later chapter. But consider the case of Antonia Minor, who was only twenty-seven when her husband, Drusus the Elder, died. As we have seen, there was a surplus of women in Augustus' house in her generation. Did she really choose to remain an *univira*, literally a "one-man woman"? Technically she contradicted Augustus' legislation in remaining celibate; however, the widow who did not remarry was an honored figure in Roman elite culture.¹⁶ Antonia's "decision" not to remarry could be and was publicly celebrated as a virtuous and exemplary devotion to her late husband.¹⁷ In the context of 9 B.C.E., however, could Antonia have stayed single predominantly because there was no one in the family for her to marry? A review of the possibilities tends to confirm the supposition – in 9 B.C.E. no men of Augustus' generation besides himself were alive, the only surviving male of Antonia's generation, Tiberius, was married to Augustus' daughter Julia, and the oldest male of the next generation, Julia and Agrippa's son Gaius, was only 11 years old.

Such circumstances also clarify the significance of this marriage of Tiberius to Julia four years earlier. When Agrippa died in 12 B.C.E., Julia had to remarry within a few months in accordance with her father's legislation.¹⁸ But as the daughter of Augustus, and thus a key to the new Augustan family matrix, she could not marry just anyone. As a result, Augustus forced Tiberius, the highest-ranking male of marriageable age within the family, to divorce his wife and marry Julia. This act did not necessarily mark him as Augustus' heir. Tiberius and Julia's marriage had much more to do with keeping Julia a model Roman woman, and thus a wife – in terms of Augustan rhetoric and legislation – and with blocking any possible ties through her to someone outside the family, than with designating Tiberius a successor.

In various details, the situations of Tiberius and Julia in 12 and of Antonia in 9 B.C.E. confirm the arguments about the marriages of Augustus' younger relatives presented herein. The sociopolitical scene created by Augustus' own unprecedented position in Roman society encouraged endogamy within his family. Each decision to pair his relatives conjugally reinforced the impulse to do so with the next young person who reached the age of marriage or who lost a spouse. In turn, Augustus' social legislation also began to affect decisions about marriage inside his house. Although it was unlikely to have been part of a calculated plan, the resulting pattern of marriages helped lead to the development of an imperial family, as it blocked traditional relations with other aristocratic families and marked his house as separate and special.

16 Cf. Treggiari, *Roman Marriage*, 233–6.

17 *SC de Pisone* 136–46, Suetonius *Augustus* 34.1, *Claudius* 4.4, Valerius Maximus 4.3.3, Josephus *Jewish Antiquities* 18.180, *Digest* 23.2.23, 44; Raditsa, "Augustus' Legislation."

18 *Tituli Ulpiani* 14.

HEIRS AND SUCCESSORS

The position of Augustus' son-in-law in 12 B.C.E. does, however, raise the much-debated issue of heirs in Augustus' family. The problem arises in part due to Augustus' lack of male children. We saw in the context of the triumph of 29 B.C.E. how early he began to utilize his nephew and stepsons as substitute sons.¹⁹ His paternal treatment of Octavia and Livia's offspring was encouraged in turn by their lack of living natural fathers.²⁰ Relationships through the female line had rarely been emphasized in the republic, and indeed this group of children in Augustus' house was technically not of his *familia* or under his paternal authority. However, as we have been discussing, Augustus had begun to use intermarriage among his daughter, nieces, nephew, and stepsons and was, as a result, creating a definitive family group. Moreover, the early principate saw a rising emphasis on previously under-recognized familial ties among other members of the aristocracy, including the use of matronymics and the less specific word *domus* in preference to *familia*.²¹ These documentable phenomena began inside Augustus' household and arose from the self-conscious marriage patterns we have been discussing.

So, in this large and to some extent artificially created family, who was Augustus' heir, in what sense, and when? Marcellus, the son of Augustus' sister Octavia, is frequently called an "heir" in secondary sources.²² Indeed, he married Augustus' only child, Julia, in 25 B.C.E. Moreover, when Augustus returned from Spain in 24, among the honors voted him was the dispensation that Marcellus be allowed to run for the consulship ten years younger than normal and enter the senate and be an aedile the following year at age nineteen.²³ Syme conjectured that Augustus in fact intended to adopt his nephew in 23 and thus clearly designate him heir, but was prevented from doing so by Agrippa and Livia.²⁴

However, Marcellus' prominence in the house of Augustus has been greatly exaggerated by his early death in 23 B.C.E. and the elaborate public funeral which followed.²⁵ True, Marcellus is the only other individual member of

19 Suetonius *Tiberius* 6.4.

20 C. Claudius Marcellus, Octavia's first husband, died in 40 B.C.E. and M. Antony, her second husband, in 30 B.C.E. Livia's first husband Tiberius Claudius Nero died in 33 B.C.E., and Octavian was then named guardian of Tiberius and presumably Drusus; Dio 48.44.5; Barbara Levick, *Tiberius the Politician* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1976), 15.

21 See Richard P. Saller, "Familia, domus, and the Roman Conception of the Family," *Phoenix* 38 (1984): 336–55 and Syme, *Augustan Aristocracy*, 53.

22 Levick, *Tiberius the Politician*, 21; Robin Seager, *Tiberius* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1972), 18–20; Anthony A. Barrett, *Agrippina. Sex, Power and Politics in the Early Empire* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996), 17; Galinsky, *Augustan Culture*, 247, 365, etc.

23 Tacitus *Annals* 3.29, Dio 53.28.3.

24 *Roman Revolution*, 342–3.

25 For the funeral, see Vergil *Aeneid* 6.872–4 and Dio 53.30.5–6.

Augustus' family besides Caesar whom we meet among the famous Romans in the sixth book of Vergil's *Aeneid* (lines 860–85). But Marcellus is there celebrated as a potential great destined to die young – the passage was written after his death. He is not mourned explicitly as a lost Augustus-to-be even so, but in general terms as a potential soldier and good Roman. Even if posthumously Marcellus were somehow treated as if he had been an heir, this would not reveal his true position in the house or in the community before his unexpected death.

No ancient sources are very certain of Marcellus' position. Velleius analyzes it, but fifty years after the young man's death.²⁶ He can relate only rumors: "people thought" Augustus intended him to be a "successorem potentiae eius," "successor to his power," but they also thought his accession would be challenged by Agrippa. Other sources also report conflict between these men and see Agrippa's assignment to oversee the eastern provinces in 23 as a result.²⁷ Although Pliny called this the "pudenda Agrippae ablegatio," the "shameful banishment of Agrippa,"²⁸ Syme rightly points out that Augustus would never have put "a political suspect . . . in charge of provinces and armies."²⁹

Unfortunately, we only have Dio's word on an intriguing event of 23 B.C.E. that would otherwise help confirm the fluidity of Augustus' heirs or successors in the 20s. Dio reports that Augustus, on what he thought would be his deathbed, gave his signet ring to Agrippa and documents of state to his co-consul, Piso.³⁰ Notice first that Augustus' position was thus broken down into two distinct parts – private responsibilities and wealth represented by the seal ring, and public documents concerning treasury accounts and military orders. The story suggests that Augustus' position was not yet conceived of as a single office, nor as separable from him. Second, no mention was made of Marcellus, and Dio reports that after his recovery Augustus made a grand show of demonstrating that no successor of any sort was named in his will.³¹

Such a show may well have been necessitated by the rumors and internal family tensions recorded by Velleius, Pliny, and Dio. But Marcellus' prominence in 23 has been overstated in imperial sources used to the idea of an heir to the empire. After all, other men of Augustus' family were also coming to enjoy unusual privilege. Tiberius, who was only six months younger than Marcellus, was also granted special honors on Augustus' return in 24 – he was to run for all magistracies five years younger than normally allowed, and he

26 2.93.1.

27 Suetonius *Augustus* 66.3, *Tiberius* 10; Dio 53.31–2.

28 *Natural History* 7.149.

29 *Roman Revolution*, 342.

30 53.30.1–2.

31 53.31.1–2.

was elected quaestor for 23.³² His honors were not equal to Marcellus', but he was clearly considered special. As contemporaries observed, moreover, Marcellus' hierarchic relationship with Agrippa was never clarified. Augustus' age-mate and chief general had much more experience and authority in his own right. Whatever was intended for the future is unknown, but Augustus did *not* adopt Marcellus and, as we shall see, seems to have often resisted designating a sole heir in either a public or private sense.

Agrippa's position, in turn, was enhanced in the years following Marcellus' death. The forms of this improvement were both familial and political, and so in some ways he appears to have become an heir. When he returned from his work overseeing the east in 21 B.C.E., he divorced Marcella Maior, Augustus' niece, to marry Augustus' daughter. Shortly after, he departed to oversee the final suppression of the Spanish revolts. In 18, he became the first man besides Augustus to receive *tribunicia potestas*.³³ In many ways he became Augustus' colleague in succeeding years: as magistrates of the quindecimvirs, they hosted the *Ludi Saeculares* together in 17 B.C.E.,³⁴ they were the co-censors of 13 B.C.E., both had their five-year grants of tribunician power renewed in that year, and Agrippa may have been granted a form of *maius imperium* as well.³⁵

If something had happened to Augustus, in theory Agrippa could have tried to continue through his own legal position to govern in the way Augustus had. Agrippa was not a *divi filius*, however, had not "restored the *res publica*" to its ancient form, and in countless other ways did not have the personal, charismatic authority of Augustus. Moreover, the two men were exactly the same age. Although Agrippa may well have been healthier than Augustus, and he was married to Augustus' daughter, it was difficult for him to be considered an "heir."

An important event of 17 B.C.E. confirms this – Augustus adopted the two infant boys of Julia and Agrippa, and thereby acquired his first legal sons.³⁶ Why? The boys were already Augustus' only direct grandchildren and thus destined for prominence, so why did he take this step now? Adoption, of course, did not take the boys from Agrippa – the transfer of sons had long been used by Roman aristocrats to tie two families together, and it did not cut off the men in question from their birth families.³⁷ Gaius and Lucius had previously

32 Tacitus *Annals* 3.29, Dio 53.28.3.

33 P. Colon 4701 in L. Koenen, "Die 'Laudatio Funebris' des Augustus für Agrippa auf einem neuen Papyrus," *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 5 (1970): 217–83; Dio 54.12.4–5.

34 CIL 6.32323.

35 P. Colon 4701, Dio 54.28.1, 12.2–4. See also the egalitarian manner in which they are depicted on coins of 13–12 B.C.E., discussed below.

36 Suetonius *Augustus* 64.1, Dio 54.18.1.

37 For the case of Scipio Aemilianus in the mid-second century B.C.E., see Polybius 31.26–8. In general, see Gardner, *Family and Familia*, 114–208; Corbier, "Constructing Kinship," 142–3; and M. H. Prévost, *Les adoptions politiques à Rome sous la République et le Principat* (Paris: Université de Paris, 1949).

been Augustus' grandchildren only through the female line; therefore, their adoption gave the boys the family name on which Augustus had staked his claim to legitimacy through his relationship to Caesar, in addition to tying Agrippa more closely to Augustus. The boys became Gaius Julius Caesar and Lucius Julius Caesar, heirs to Augustus' wealth and family connections.³⁸ But they were only three years old and a newborn, respectively – they would not be making political use of these powerful names for some time. Should we read this event as the designation of successors?

An alternative motive for the timing of the adoptions can be found in Augustus' recent legislative attempts to revive the Roman family. Recall that many parts of Augustus' marriage law encouraged childrearing, and in particular three children often brought special privileges.³⁹ Between the boys and their mother Julia, Augustus now had the required number, and the adoption may well reflect his desire – as the savior of the state and the author of the laws – not to appear to fail them, particularly within a year of their being instated.

In Roman law, however, Gaius and Lucius became heirs to Augustus' estate.⁴⁰ As such, we should not imagine that at this time he envisioned his "estate" to include all of his magisterial powers, his "political estate."⁴¹ Should we see Agrippa's position in this light as a form of potential regency for his sons, should Augustus fail to live into their adulthood?⁴² With *tribunicia potestas* and special grants of *imperium*, he might have been equipped to do this for a short period of time. However, a dislike of Agrippa runs through our elite sources,⁴³ and the extremely obscure family background of the Vipsanii was no help.⁴⁴ His image as a colleague of Augustus may be construed as an attempt to counteract this, but he continued to refuse triumphs voted him. What would have happened to him had Augustus died first is a very open question. In turn, the most apt political comparison for Gaius and Lucius at this stage

38 On the importance of the continuation of the family name as a motivating factor in adoption, see especially Corbier, "Divorce and Adoption," 63–4.

39 For example, for men, immunity from the task of acting as guardian or curator and for free-born women, liberation from perpetual guardianship; Justinian *Institutes* 1.25pr., Gaius *Institutes* 1.145, 194. Emperors came to grant the "right of three children" as a special award or privilege, because three children gave free-born Roman citizens all the rewards for parenthood and full protection from the disabilities of childlessness created by Augustus' law; Treggiari, *Roman Marriage*, 73. In the original statute, as well, adopted children were considered children of their adoptive parents; a senatorial decree under Nero changed this to credit natural parents even after adoption; Tacitus *Annals* 15.19; Treggiari, *Roman Marriage*, 72.

40 Gardner, *Family and Familia*, 117–19.

41 In "Maison des Césars," 247, Corbier argues that Augustus shaped his family to transmit two sets of things, one traditional – name, patrimony, clients and, other loyalties – and the other new – power. However, she does not consider *when* the second set came into primary consideration. I would argue it was not before 12 B.C.E., and perhaps not until much later than that.

42 Seager, *Tiberius*, 21–2.

43 Suetonius *Augustus* 66.3, Velleius 2.79.1, Horace *Odes* 1.6; cf. Syme, *Roman Revolution*, 343–4.

44 Syme, *Augustan Aristocracy*, 44.

may be the young Octavian himself – the boys would have had to carve out positions for themselves if Augustus had died while they were young, although they would have been aided by their ability to draw upon their inherited wealth and status as *Augusti filii*, “sons of Augustus.”

Moreover, Tiberius and Drusus, Augustus’ stepsons, should not be left out of the family portrait. We have noted Tiberius’ many honors alongside his contemporary Marcellus, and in 16 B.C.E. he and his younger brother were entrusted with what would be a long campaign on the German frontier after “representing” Augustus in their presentation of gladiatorial games in the capital.⁴⁵ Both received special military status and offices at early ages.⁴⁶ Since the line of Agrippa, Gaius and Lucius held no men of Marcellus and Tiberius’ generation, neither contemporaries nor we can rule them out of candidacy for parts of Augustus’ public and private position.

In fact, perhaps the best observation to be made is that Augustus liked to keep the situation complicated.⁴⁷ We have already discussed the very quick marriage of Tiberius and Julia which followed Agrippa’s death in 12 B.C.E., and how this need not be interpreted as a sign that Tiberius was now a primary or political “heir.” Additionally, Augustus did not adopt his stepson until many years later – after the deaths of both Gaius and Lucius, and then also at the same time as he adopted their younger brother, Agrippa Postumus.⁴⁸ In 12 B.C.E., despite his status as son-in-law, Tiberius was by no means a designated successor. He did not receive *tribunicia potestas* until the summer of 9 B.C.E., when Gaius was coming closer to adulthood. Was Tiberius now to take up Agrippa’s postulated “regency”? If Augustus had died even in 9, it is hard to imagine that his entire position could have passed to either Tiberius or Gaius. By designating no single heirs even in later years, Augustus avoided creating rivals to himself within his own family and instead maintained paternal authority over a household full of powerful men.

An unusual body of evidence confirms this portrait I have been drawing of the family of Augustus and its public role, or lack thereof, before *c.* 12 B.C.E. The state mint in Rome was reopened for the production of gold and silver coins in 19 B.C.E.⁴⁹ The resulting numismatic evidence, often datable to

45 Dio 54.19.5.

46 For more on these, see Chapter 4.

47 On the notion of the “doppelprinzipat,” “double princeps,” in the Augustan period, see Ernst Kornemann, *Doppelprinzipat und Reichsteilung im Imperium Romanum* (Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1930; reprint, Groningen: Bouma’s Boekhuis, 1968), 7–35.

48 Even in this later context, we should probably keep in mind another motivating factor for adoption identified by Corbier, “Constructing Kinship,” 142: adoption was “a means by which the paterfamilias could control a man, his wealth, and his descendants.”

49 C. H. V. Sutherland, *The Emperor and the Coinage* (London: Spink, 1976), 11–22, 40–2; Mark D. Fullerton, “The *Domus Augusti* in Imperial Iconography of 13–12 B.C.,” *American Journal of Archaeology* 89 (1985): 473–83.

specific years, provides a clear picture of the public presentation of Augustus' house. In general, the references to Augustus on the coins minted between 23 and 17 B.C.E. are multiple, but they respect the separation of public and private promoted by Augustus. Some coins of 16 B.C.E., however, reveal anxiety about how to depict Augustus' role, while in 13 women and children of Augustus' house make an almost unprecedented appearance on the coins. Change was coming in the public position of Augustus' family; even so, the images honor Augustus and his household as a unit, rather than demarcate heirs to his public position.

For example, from 19 to 17 B.C.E., mint magistrates supervised the production of gold and silver coins which honored Augustus on one side, and the public histories of their families on the other. Thus, among the silver *denarii* signed by the moneyer L. Aquillius Florus in 18 B.C.E., one (Figure 3.2) shows on its obverse a portrait of Augustus with the legend CAESAR AUGUSTUS, while the reverse reused a type employed decades earlier by one of his republican Aquillius ancestors, – a type which, in turn, commemorates another Aquillius' suppression of a slave revolt in Sicily in 101.⁵⁰ As far as we know, the magistrates selected the types for obverse and reverse, as their predecessors did in the republic.⁵¹ Thus, the contrast between the Augustan imagery on the one side and the traditional advertisements of the individual moneyers on the other encapsulates the unusual coexistence of the restored *res publica* and its restorer.⁵² Many of the images honoring Augustus make use of topical public events, such as the return of the legionary standards from Parthia and the *Ludi Saeculares*.⁵³ In contrast, no references are made to Augustus' adoption of sons or other important events within his household.

The coins of 16 B.C.E., all firmly dated by Augustus' tribunician years, suggest more uncertainty about Augustus' role.⁵⁴ Some, such as those of C. Antistius Vetus, continue in the vein of earlier moneyers: coins show Augustan imagery, such as a bust of Venus and a collection of ritual implements symbolizing Augustus' priesthoods,⁵⁵ while others refer to the history of the *gens Antistia*.⁵⁶ L. Vinicius and L. Mescinius Rufus, however, struck in what Sutherland calls a "totally new idiom."⁵⁷ Their "epigraphic" types have

50 RRC 401/1; Galinsky, *Augustan Culture*, 31.

51 For the debate on who selected imperial types in general, see especially Galinsky, *Augustan Culture*, 28–31; Barbara Levick, "Propaganda and Imperial Coinage," *Antichthon* 16 (1982): 104–16 and C. H. V. Sutherland, "Compliment or Complement? Dr. Levick on Imperial Coin Types," *Numismatic Chronicle* 146 (1986): 85–93.

52 Cf. Wallace-Hadrill, "Image and Authority."

53 Standards: RIC 98, 99, 122, 127; *Ludi*: RIC 141.

54 RIC 147, 156, 154.

55 RIC 150.

56 RIC 154; Fullerton, "Domus Augusti," 474.

57 C. H. V. Sutherland, *Coinage in Roman Imperial Policy*, 31 B.C.–A.D. 68 (New York: Barnes & Noble, 1951), 50.



Figure 3.2 Reverse of silver denarius of L. Aquillius Florus, 18 B.C.E. The obverse carries a standard portrait of Augustus, while here the image celebrates the minter Aquillius and his family's past military success in Sicily. *RIC* 310, *BMC* 50. American Numismatic Society 1944.100.38321, museum photo.

little pictorial imagery, and instead quote shorthand versions of contemporary documents and ceremonial formulae.

The dependence of these types on words reflects a growing difficulty in finding ways to honor and depict Augustus and contemporary events at Rome. Notice that they do not, however, refer in any way to Augustus' family. The decrees which the legends quote reveal this struggle in depicting Augustus; they thank him for his caretakership, but express uncertainty as to what this indicates about his continuing role in the community. In general, the legends equate the health of the *res publica* with that of Augustus.⁵⁸ One *denarius* does this by recording the offering of prayers for Augustus' safe return from Gaul in 19 B.C.E., "S.P.Q.R. V(ota) PR(o) RE(ditu) CAES(aris)," "the senate and the Roman people made vows for the sake of the return of Caesar."⁵⁹ Compare:

OB R(em) P(ublicam) CUM SALUT(e) IMP(eratoris) CAESAR(is) AUGUS(ti)
CONS(ervatam)

because the *res publica* has been saved along with the health of
Imperator Caesar Augustus

or (Figure 3.3):

I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) S.P.Q.R. V(ota) S(uscepta) PR(o) S(alute)
IMP(eratoris) CAE(saris) QUOD PER EU(m) R(es) P(ublica) IN AMP(liore)
ATQ(ue) TRAN(quilla)re S(tatu) E(st).

The senate and the Roman people [decree that] vows be undertaken
to Jupiter Optimus Maximus for the health of *Imperator* Caesar
Augustus because through him the *res publica* is in a better and more
tranquil state.

⁵⁸ Sutherland, *Coinage in Imperial Policy*, 50–1.

⁵⁹ *RIC* 155, 156.



Figure 3.3 Silver denarius demonstrating the experimental and short-lived “epigraphic style” of 16 B.C.E. RIC 160. Photo © Copyright The British Museum.

From 19 to 16 B.C.E., the coins and the decrees for which they provide evidence show increased experimentation in articulating the role of Augustus over time, but these experiments focus on him alone, and no public mention is made of his family or its members.

A break in the operation of the precious metal mint at Rome occurred from 15 to 14 B.C.E. while Augustus was in Gaul.⁶⁰ When it reopened, magistrates continued to sign the coins, but the images on them were significantly different from those that had come before: members of Augustus’ family began to appear in unusual ways, and references to the mint magistrates all but disappeared.⁶¹ Something new was taking shape.

Among the most striking messages of these gold and silver coins is that Augustus’ personal responsibility for the state is shared, specifically with Agrippa. Even though Agrippa had been Augustus’ son-in-law for over a decade now, however, and Augustus had adopted Agrippa’s sons as his own in 17, most images emphasize equality and sharing, not successorship or heredity. Some coins equate the men very simply, the obverse showing a portrait of Augustus, the reverse of Agrippa.⁶² We also find reverses showing the two men acting collegially. The renewal of their *tribunicia potestas* in 13 was commemorated on a *denarius* showing two togate figures seated on the special bench of tribunes (Figure 3.4).⁶³ Their shared censorial duties are celebrated in a scene depicting two men, each standing next to a censor’s box.⁶⁴ A reference

60 Fullerton, “*Domus Augusti*,” 474.

61 Some debate persists concerning the chronology of these coins. For a summary of the arguments, see Fullerton, “*Domus Augusti*,” 474–80 and Anne S. Robertson, *Roman Imperial Coins in the Hunter Coin Cabinet. I. Augustus to Nerva* (London: Oxford University Press, 1962), xxxii–xxxiv. Although some of the dating is based on typology, the attributions are based on specific events in those years, such as the censorship of 13 B.C.E. and Augustus becoming *pontifex maximus* in 12.

62 Fullerton, “*Domus Augusti*,” 474.

63 Fullerton, “*Domus Augusti*,” 474, RIC I² 407.

64 Fullerton, “*Domus Augusti*,” 477; J. Newby, *A Numismatic Commentary on the Res Gestae of Augustus* (Iowa City: Athens Press, 1938), 41.



Figure 3.4 Reverse of silver denarius of C. Sulpicius Platorinus, 13 B.C.E. An obverse portrait of Augustus is backed by this image of Augustus and Agrippa seated together on the tribunes' rostrate *bisellium* to celebrate the renewal of their *tribunicia potestas*. BMC Augustus 115. American Numismatic Society 1944.100.38341, museum photo.

to Agrippa's military success is found in the depiction of a special equestrian statue and ship prows alluding to his great naval victories.⁶⁵ These images celebrate the relationship between Augustus and Agrippa using the rhetoric of shared constitutional offices and of worthy military victories and honors. The men are shown to share responsibility for the *res publica* in very traditional public ways; Agrippa is not presented as an heir.

Contemporary denarii of C. Marius, however, give the same message of collegiality, but in a new language – family relationships. Some carry an Augustan portrait obverse with a reverse showing a female bust with a quiver behind to identify her as the goddess Diana. Some have seen portrait features of Julia in the bust,⁶⁶ and Fullerton explains the image as a reference to the Battle of Naulochos, as the goddess Diana and the admiral Agrippa had been credited with this victory of 36 B.C.E.⁶⁷ The coin thus celebrates the relationship between Augustus and Agrippa in terms of both a shared victory and a shared female relative. On another reverse, portraits of Gaius and Lucius flank one of their mother Julia under an oak wreath (Figure 3.5).⁶⁸ The message is about Augustus, but the pictorial language used to honor him is that of house and family. In fact, he is being publicly commended for his paternity. We see his daughter and her two sons, born to Agrippa but adopted by Augustus, so the coin also illustrates the relations between these men. Mortal women, of

⁶⁵ Fullerton, "Domus Augusti," 478.

⁶⁶ RIC 1² 72, no. 403; Alberto Banti and Luigi Simonetti, *Corpus Nummorum Romanorum*, (Florence: A. Banti, 1980–2), 8:177–80; Fullerton, "Domus Augusti," 476–7. However, J. Pollini, "Man or God? Divine Assimilation and Imitation in the Late Republic and Early Principate," in *Between Republic and Empire. Interpretations of Augustus and his Principate*, eds Kurt A. Raflaub and Mark Toher (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), 353–5 and Wood, *Imperial Women*, 64–8 disagree with the identification of Julia.

⁶⁷ "Domus Augusti," 476.

⁶⁸ Fullerton, "Domus Augusti," 475; RIC 1² 404, 405.



Figure 3.5 Silver denarius of C. Marius, 13 B.C.E. On the obverse, a portrait of “Augustus, son of a god,” and on the reverse, portraits of his children Gaius, Julia, and Lucius. *RIC* 166^a, *BMC* Augustus 109. American Numismatic Society 1937.158.390, museum photo.

course, had not appeared on Roman coins save for a brief time in the triumviral period.⁶⁹ Such imagery had been carefully avoided since Octavian’s rise to sole power, when he began reasserting ideological lines between public and private. These coins of 13–12 B.C.E. thus mark a change in the public presentation of the family of Augustus.

CONCLUSIONS

In the patterns of the marriages they contracted, we have seen the separation of Augustus’ family from the rest of the aristocracy and the resulting status of his nieces, nephew, daughter, and stepsons as part of a special, almost untouchable group. His long-term military ally, Agrippa, was the only outsider consistently tied to the family in this way. Collectively, we can see in the creation of this group the first steps away from a family of republican oligarchs toward an imperial family. Images on coins minted in Rome in 17 and 16 B.C.E., however, confirm that such actions within the household were not yet being presented as public events. The minters struggled to find means of honoring Augustus, but they maintained a line between his family and the community, and emphasized Augustus’ personal political authority.

Thus, unusual marriage arrangements and adoptions should not lead us into a premature search for a designated successor. Mireille Corbier calls Augustus’ family “a deliberate construction, carried out after mature reflection and in view of the transmission of power.”⁷⁰ I would agree that his family was constructed, and that as soon as twenty years later it may have been internally organized around the transmission of political authority; however, back in the 20s and 10s B.C.E., such an idea was anachronistic. Many family

⁶⁹ See above, Chapter 2.

⁷⁰ “Constructing Kinship,” 143.

maneuverings, such as adoptions and marriages to Augustus' daughter, are better interpreted as practical social strategies rather than attempts to mark a political successor. Augustus named his baby grandsons heirs to his family estate when he adopted them as his own sons. Nevertheless, he shared certain unusual public powers with other, adult male relatives of established, if privileged, careers, such as Agrippa, Marcellus, and Tiberius. As his house was still far from a state institution, an heir to the family need not be considered the next leader of Rome. As the family group developed, Augustus in fact neglected none of the men of his household and used many means of privileging them. Similarly, unusual depictions of women and children from Augustus' family on coins of 13–12 B.C.E., rather than identifying successors, served to honor Augustus for his fatherhood. Use of a familial status to articulate a public role was new, however, and would be employed with increasing frequency in the years following 12 B.C.E.

THE MILITARY

Scholars have long debated the role of the military in the maintenance of Octavian Augustus' position in the state.¹ The armed forces were certainly a branch of the public sphere with which he was actively engaged, and for good reason. He initiated several reforms to restore order and consolidate his own control: the number of legions was significantly reduced, and they were made permanent, standing forces. Soldiers were enlisted for a fixed number of years and kept distinct from the citizen body during their terms of service. Augustus thus completed the republican trend of professionalizing the Roman army.² Around 38 B.C.E., Octavian had unprecedentedly adopted the title *Imperator* as his *praenomen*, laying claim to a unique and successful military leadership.³ In nomenclature and ceremony, Augustus continued to present himself as the one ultimately responsible for all military victory, thus articulating a permanent caretakership role for himself in Rome.

During the first ten to fifteen years after his victory over Antony, Octavian Augustus used other members of the political class to help lead Rome's fighting forces, in keeping with republican traditions. However, when another generation of men in his family came of age in the 10s B.C.E., Augustus used them increasingly to create a monopoly over major military commands. Thus, the demographic realities of the family discussed in the previous chapter were at least in part responsible for changes in the public role of his household in

1 Cf. Kurt A. Raaflaub, "Die Militärreformen des Augustus und die politische Problematik des frühen Prinzipats," in *Saeculum Augustum*, ed. G. Binder (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1987), 1:246–307; J. B. Campbell, *The Emperor and the Roman Army, 31 BC – AD 253* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984); H. Schneider, *Die Entstehung der römischen Militärdiktatur: Krise und Niedergang einer antiken Republik* (Cologne: Kiepenheuer & Witsch, 1977); P. A. Brunt, "The Army and the Land in the Roman Revolution," *Journal of Roman Studies* 52 (1962): 69–86.

2 Many of these reforms standardized preexisting practices; see Lawrence Keppie, *The Making of the Roman Army. From Republic to Empire* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1984), 132–49, 146–8.

3 See especially Ronald Syme, "Imperator Caesar: A Study in Nomenclature," *Historia* 7 (1958): 172–88.

this period. In addition, Augustus used new images, ceremonies, and legislation to foster a personal connection with his soldiers, and he gradually came to share these methods of eliciting loyalty with members of his family.

The Roman armed forces thus serve as a useful microcosm for looking at how and why I believe Augustus' family developed a public role. In the first stages, his family became involved with the military as a means of consolidating Augustus' own position, rather than with the aim of creating a dynasty. The cumulative effect of these strategies, however, was to institutionalize an imperial family. In this chapter, we will thus briefly investigate the military duties of different classes and how they changed under Augustus, how unusually personal ties were fostered between Augustus and Roman soldiers, in part through his family, and also how his male relatives were raised to leadership positions and used to retain control over the armed forces.

THE FAMILY MONOPOLY OF MAJOR MILITARY COMMANDS

A survey of the major campaigns of the Augustan period reveals a careful restriction of commands involving large forces to members of Augustus' family. For example, Agrippa spent many years overseeing affairs in the eastern Mediterranean, where the Parthian empire and its influence over Armenia were of particular importance. Agrippa was physically present and in charge in the east from 23 to 21 and 17 to 13 B.C.E., and Tiberius, in one of his earliest missions, crowned a new, pro-Roman king of Armenia in 20 B.C.E. and oversaw the return of the legionary standards captured by the Parthians. Moreover, even though this king died around 6 B.C.E., when Tiberius retired to Rhodes in that same year, affairs in Armenia were ignored until Gaius was old enough for his first command. In 1 B.C.E. he went east and crowned another Armenian monarch.

The protracted campaigns on the Rhine–Danube frontier reveal even more clearly the preference for commanders from Augustus' house. Difficulties began in *c.* 16 B.C.E., when Germanic tribes of the middle Rhine raided into Gaul. Soon after, Tiberius and his brother Drusus, in his first command, began campaigning in Raetia and the upper Danube regions.⁴ From 12 to 9 B.C.E., Drusus advanced the Rhine frontier to the Elbe, while Tiberius worked to subjugate Pannonia. Tiberius continued the efforts along the Elbe for two years after his brother's death in 9. When Tiberius withdrew from public life and moved to Rhodes in 6 B.C.E., Augustus had to turn elsewhere for generals. However, he still did not look outside the family. In 5 B.C.E. L. Domitius Ahenobarbus, the husband of Augustus' niece Antonia Maior, was active in

⁴ Dio 54.22.

Germany. Tiberius had returned by the time of the next major campaign; 4–6 C.E. were spent in preparation and execution of his attack on the Marcomanni in the middle Rhine region. A revolt in Pannonia distracted his attention from 7 to 8. Germanicus came of age to join his uncle in making Pannonia a province in 9. In turn, the infamous loss of three Roman legions in Germany that same year is attributable to the commander P. Quinctillius Varus, one-time husband of two different grandnieces of Augustus.

Smaller actions are known from the Augustan period, and putting down local insurgents and other minor conflicts were occasionally left to provincial governors with small forces.⁵ But even these minor cases are rare in the years following 17 B.C.E., when another generation of men from the family became old enough to take control.⁶ Over the many years of Augustus' reign, an overwhelming majority of the military actions were led by members of his family.

A small and controlled number of command positions was a natural by-product of Augustus' redesign of the Roman military; standing legions went where they were needed, and only garrisons were kept even in local hot spots like Syria and Africa. After Augustus' return from the east in 19 B.C.E., however, he himself left Italy only to visit Gaul. But as he became unable or unwilling to lead the army, the opportunity to command did not open to all other male aristocrats. Instead, supreme control of Roman armies was extended to the men of his family, beginning in the 10s B.C.E. For the most part, this served to protect Augustus' control of the military, but it also began to create a specific role for his family in the changing state.

TRAINING THE YOUTH

The manner in which young men were introduced to and trained in the military consolidated this leadership role coming to be played by the men of Augustus' house. The men of Augustus' family – his stepsons Tiberius and Drusus, and in the next generation Gaius, Lucius, Agrippa Postumus, Germanicus, and Drusus the Younger – were all trained in the military from young ages, and

5 For example, the campaign on the Danube had been led by M. Licinius Crassus in 29–8. Terentius Varro Murena secured the St. Bernard Pass from Italy to France in 25, and C. Petronius advanced the Egyptian frontier in 22. For protecting the African coasts and the Djerma oasis in 19, L. Cornelius Balbus had earned the last triumph held by a man outside Augustus' family.

6 P. Sulpicius Quirinius cleaned out the Cilician highlands sometime between 12 and 4 B.C.E. Valerius Messalinus was in charge of Illyricum in support of Tiberius' advance against the Marcomanni in the north. Africa, the one senatorial province with a regular army, continued to require border defense. P. Sulpicius Quirinius was also active here sometime after Balbus earned his triumph, and Cossus Cornelius Lentulus defeated the Gaetulians in 5–6 C.E. Finally, L. Calpurnius Piso put down a revolt in Thrace c. 11–9 B.C.E. while Tiberius and Drusus were campaigning in Germany and Pannonia.

spent many adult years on campaign and in the camps.⁷ This growing family monopoly on command and victory, however, did not mean that other aristocratic men stopped participating in the military altogether. In fact, the celebration of young men as warriors revived under Augustus. However, the nature and extent of their participation changed – the public celebration of Roman young manhood served in part to further glorify Augustus and the members of his family, and the organization of these festivals accustomed all involved to leaders from his house.

Tiberius, Drusus, Marcellus, Gaius, Lucius, Agrippa Postumus, Germanicus, and Drusus the Younger were taken on military expeditions from young ages. We know the most about Tiberius' early career, because biographies were written of the man who became the second emperor, but his case serves as an illustration. One year after he took the *toga virilis*, he and Marcellus served as *tribuni militum* under Augustus in his Spanish campaigns of 26–5 B.C.E., when they were both sixteen years old.⁸ Dio reports that games were held in their name at the founding of the veteran colony Augusta Emerita.⁹ When they returned to Rome, they began very early civil careers under a special dispensation from the senate, Marcellus serving as aedile and Tiberius as quaestor in 23 B.C.E.¹⁰ Tiberius then led the eastern expedition to crown the new king of Armenia in 20 B.C.E.; at twenty-two, he led the army across Macedonia and Thrace down into Asia Minor,¹¹ even though Augustus was nearby in Greece at the time.¹² In 16 B.C.E., Tiberius served as praetor, although when Dio notes this he mentions that the twenty-six-year-old had “held that rank before,” presumably to enable him to lead the army in the east.¹³ He left with Augustus to visit Gaul during his praetorship, however, so a decree was passed to allow his twenty-two-year-old brother Drusus to perform his civic duties.¹⁴ At age twenty-nine, Tiberius held his first consulship (13 B.C.E.), but by then he had already been leading the campaign on the Rhine–Danube frontier for three years.¹⁵ Drusus' early career is very similar.¹⁶ Young men of Augustus' family commanded legions at younger and younger ages, while even other consuls failed to have military commands.¹⁷

In addition, to celebrate the military prowess of aristocratic youths, Augustus

7 Corbier, “Maison des Césars,” 284.

8 Suetonius *Tiberius* 9.1.

9 53.26.1.

10 Tacitus *Annals* 3.29, Suetonius *Tiberius* 9, Dio 53.28.3.

11 Strabo 17.1.54, Tacitus *Annals* 2.3, Suetonius *Tiberius* 9, Dio 54.9.4–5.

12 Dio 54.7.4.

13 54.19.6.

14 Dio 54.19.6.

15 On the early career of Tiberius, see Seager, *Tiberius*, 14–29 and Levick, *Tiberius the Politician*, 19–30.

16 Dio 54.22.3, 54.33.1.

17 Syme, *Augustan Aristocracy*, 8–9, 60–1. This presence of the imperial family in the camps

revived several ancient ceremonies associated in particular with the cavalry. These military games and parades were public events which glorified the high status of the sons of senators. Such games included the *ludus Troiae*, a complex equestrian exercise performed by young boys. Although it seems to have been a traditional Italic event,¹⁸ the Romans of our period related the name to their legendary Trojan ancestors. The best surviving description comes from Vergil's account of funeral games in the *Aeneid*,¹⁹ in which he emphasizes the military nature of the display, calling the units "battle lines" and their movements "simulations of a fight under arms." We know of such games hosted by Sulla in the 80s B.C.E., by Caesar in 46, and by Agrippa in 40 and 33.²⁰ But Suetonius notes that Augustus

Troiae lusum edidit frequentissime maiorum minorumque puerorum, prisci decorique moris existimans clarae stirpis idolem sic notescere.

gave the Troy game of older and younger boys very frequently, thinking it an ancient and noble custom for the flower of the senatorial rank to be so celebrated.²¹

Augustus also revived and lengthened the *tirocinium*, or premilitary training, of all young men, which also involved games and field exercises.²² More particularly for the aristocracy, Augustus also reinstituted the ancient *transvectio equitum*, or cavalry review, a parade of the sons of senatorial families in their distinctive broad-banded tunics, along with other men of equestrian rank.²³ Although Dionysius tells us the solemn military procession of the *pompa circensis* led by high-ranking young men was obsolete in his day,²⁴ some form of circus games was performed by older boys under Augustus.²⁵ Later on, he founded the *iuventus*, a youth corps closely related to these ceremonial

became extreme in the next generation – Germanicus' children grew up in the campaigns on the German frontier.

18 For inscriptional evidence across Italy, see Lily Ross Taylor, "Seviri Equitum Romanorum and Municipal Seviri: A Study in Pre-Military Training among the Romans," *Journal of Roman Studies* 14 (1924): 165–71, in addition to the late seventh-century vase from southern Etruria showing a group of mounted youths and a labyrinth-like pattern labeled "truia" (Rome, Museo dei Conservatori); Leandro Polverini, "Ludus Troiae," in *Enciclopedia Virgiliana* (Florence: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 1990), 287.

19 5.545–602.

20 Plutarch *Cato the Elder* 3.1–2, Suetonius *Caesar* 39.2, Dio 43.23.6, 48.20.2, 49.43.3.

21 *Augustus* 43.2.

22 For the evidence, see M. Rostovtzeff, "Römische Bleitesserae," *Klio* 3 (1905): 59–70, Taylor, "Seviri Equitum," 158–9.

23 Dionysius of Halicarnassus 1.3.2, 7.2, Suetonius *Augustus* 38.

24 7.72.

25 Suetonius *Caesar* 39, *Augustus* 43, Dio 53.1.4, 55.10.6.

cavalry groups and whose games focused on the Temple of Mars Ultor in the Forum of Augustus and on his family.²⁶

Even in this early period, however, such ceremonies were frequently led by young men of Augustus' household. Among the funeral games given at the dedication of the Temple of the Divine Julius in 29 B.C.E., certainly Tiberius and probably Marcellus led the two squads of the Troy game.²⁷ At the inauguration of the Theater of Marcellus in 13 B.C.E., Gaius led the exercises.²⁸ And finally, in the last dated occurrence under Augustus, Gaius and Lucius directed the circus games while their younger brother, Agrippa Postumus, took part in the *Troia* at the dedication of the Temple of Mars Ultor in 2 B.C.E.²⁹ The young nobles who participated in these ceremonies thus grew up under the leadership of Augustus' male relatives.

These ceremonies were a means by which Augustus tapped into the strength of the next generation of the Roman aristocracy. In 1924, L. R. Taylor compared these ancient institutions to "the pre-military training of the youth of Italy, which Mussolini has lately entrusted to the Fascist National Militia."³⁰ These men grew up being praised for their military prowess, even though the actual military positions held by other members of the aristocracy decreased under Augustus.³¹ In the ancient version, as well, the participants learned their place in the social hierarchy – they were of gloriously high birth compared to most, but not as high as members of Augustus' family. Publicly praised for the roles they did play, these men grew up fully accustomed to the military leadership of Augustus' household.

THE LOYALTY OF THE LEGIONS

In the newly permanent legions, the command structure of enlisted men became more encompassing and elaborate.³² Not only were these career officers from the lower social ranks much less threatening to Augustus and his family's control of the military, but reforms, images, and ceremonies were designed to evoke their long-term personal loyalty to Augustus. Not surprisingly, as the young men of Augustus' family came into military service, these methods of creating loyalty were extended to celebrate them as well.

Immediately after Actium, Octavian decommissioned the massive civil war

26 See below, Chapter 7.

27 Suetonius *Tiberius* 6.4, Dio 51.22.4.

28 Dio 54.26.1.

29 Dio 55.10.6.

30 Taylor, "Seviri Equitum," 171.

31 Campbell, *Emperor and the Army*, 348–51; Syme, *Augustan Aristocracy*, 61; H. M. D. Parker, *The Roman Legions* (Cambridge: W. Heffer and Sons, 1958), 187–90.

32 Campbell, *Emperor and the Army*, 101–5.

armies, and he founded veteran colonies all over the empire.³³ Their names commemorated Octavian's relationship with Julius Caesar and later also his *cognomen* Augustus, from Colonia Iulia Gemella Parium in Asia to Colonia Faventia Iulia Augusta Pia and Caesaraugusta in Farther Spain, from Colonia Augusta Aroe Patrae in Achaia to Augusta Praetoria in Cisalpine Gaul.³⁴ Thus, their benefactor was always very present for the veterans, whether they had fought for or against him in the civil wars.

Moreover, the legions themselves became standing units with permanent names and numbers. In part, this ended the logistical nightmare of mustering and decommissioning troops, but a long-term identification with one's unit and comrades was also fostered – a true *esprit de corps*. Most of the names assigned were of traditional forms, reflecting the legion's place of origin, or the like.³⁵ Some, however, were particularly associated with Augustus; II, III and VIII were called *Augusta*, XV *Apollinaris* for Octavian Augustus' patron deity, and *Veneria* in honor of Venus, genetrix of the Julian *gens*.³⁶ Although he did not personally connect in this way with all of the legions, Augustus broke the tradition of nonpersonal names upheld even by the supergenerals of the triumviral wars.³⁷ Augustus was the first to mark legions as personal property in such a way, and it resembles in intent the naming of veteran colonies after himself. As the legions became permanent, not only did the soldiers come to identify closely with their units, but also with their permanent leader, Augustus.

Moreover, since at least the time of Marius, Roman soldiers had protected and venerated their legionary standards as symbols of their units.³⁸ Now that the legions were permanent, these *signa* took on even stronger and longer-lasting associations. The standards had near religious significance for the soldiery, and Augustus worked hard to wrap himself in them. At least three legions used the capricorn, Augustus' good luck sign, as their emblems.³⁹ Literary references and artistic representations also attest that units of the praetorian guard carried portraits of the emperor on their standards. This does not seem to be the case for the regular infantry, but in this period we begin to

33 Lawrence Keppie, *Colonisation and Veteran Settlement in Italy, 47–14 B.C.* (London: British School at Rome, 1983), 73–82.

34 *RE* 1240–1.

35 IV and V *Macedonica*, X *Fretensis*, etc.; Campbell, *Emperor and the Army*, 88–9; Keppie, *Making of the Roman Army*, 136–9, 199–212. For Caesarian precedents, see especially Keppie, *Making of the Roman Army*, 132–3.

36 Why these particular legions were so honored is unknown; see Campbell, *Emperor and the Army*, 88–9; Keppie, *Making of the Roman Army*, 138.

37 Campbell, *Emperor and the Army*, 88–90.

38 A. D. Nock, "The Roman Army and the Roman Religious Year," *Harvard Theological Review* 45 (1952): 239; Keppie, *Making of the Roman Army*, 139–40.

39 II *Augusta*, XIV *Gemina*, XXI *Rapax*, and perhaps IV *Scythia*; Keppie, *Making of the Roman Army*, 139.

get references to a new military post, the *imaginiferus*, or “image-bearer,” among the other legions and auxiliaries. We have no representations of what they carried, but the *imago* part of the title suggests some form of portrait. These images and the standards were kept in a shrine behind the general’s tent in a Roman camp; other portraits and statues of the emperor were kept there as well.⁴⁰ This permanent and quasi-religious presence of the emperor in the camps fits well with Augustus’ stress on his ultimate responsibility for victory and the military. These symbols certainly helped foster an association with an *imperator* not himself present on a campaign.⁴¹

Significantly, members of Augustus’ family also began to be celebrated in camp shrines, on military decorations, and in formal ceremonies, although the introduction of this is difficult to date. Suetonius comments that many legions put statues of Sejanus in the camp shrines under Tiberius, which suggests that other important people, such as members of the imperial family, had images there as well.⁴² Rank insignia made of glass paste surviving from the reign of Tiberius clearly portray individual members of the imperial family, including Germanicus, his three child-age sons, and even his wife Agrippina the Elder (see Chapter 9, Figures 9.2 and 9.3).⁴³ Two such artifacts are known from the lifetime of Augustus – a sheath plaque embossed with the image of Livia as Venus between her sons Drusus and Tiberius (Figure 4.1), and a drinking cup engraved with busts of Augustus and Livia atop columns (Figure 4.2) from the camp at Vetera in Germany.⁴⁴ Their provenance suggests production during the Rhine–Danube campaigns between 16 and 9 B.C.E. Finally, Tacitus tells us that in addressing the troops revolting in Germany in 14 C.E., Germanicus chastised the disloyalty of the first legion to Tiberius in particular, because he had presented them with their standards.⁴⁵ Tiberius must have performed this duty at the behest of Augustus, and Germanicus evoked just that personal tie between the house of Augustus and the legions which the *Imperator* had been intending to create through the ceremony of the standards.

Augustus asserted his control over his familial commanders in a number of ways. The traditional authority of the father within a Roman household helped, of course. Augustus also repeatedly emphasized his ultimate responsibility for the military through his *praenomen Imperator* and his *imperium*, the legal authority to command troops. Campbell notes that in Augustus’ autobiographical *Res Gestae* not only does the first person recur in descriptions of military

40 Tacitus, *Annals* 1.39, CIL 3.3526, Herodian 4.4.5.

41 Campbell, *Emperor and the Army*, 97.

42 *Tiberius* 48.2.

43 J. M. C. Toynbee and I. A. Richmond, “A Roman Glass *phalera* from Carlisle,” *Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmoreland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society* 53 (1953): 46.

44 Galinsky, *Augustan Culture*, 329; Hans Lehner, “Zwei Trinkgefäße aus Vetera,” *Bonner Jahrbücher des Rheinischen Landesmuseums* 122 (1912): 430–5.

45 *Annals* 1.42.



Figure 4.1 Embossed bronze scabbard from the Augustan period showing Livia flanked by her sons Tiberius and Drusus. Bonn, Rheinisches Landesmuseum, 4320, photo courtesy of the museum, neg. 21618.

exploits, but also the phrase “*meo auspicio*.”⁴⁶ For the Romans, “under my auspices” was not just a vague reference to a commanding role, but a ritually and religiously charged idea. As the holder of *imperium*, Augustus conducted the sacrifices before the departure of the legions and in theory before battle. He was considered responsible for military success, even if his person was not physically in the field. Contemporary poets played up the notion of Augustus’ sole responsibility for military victory, and that his management of the empire was supported by the efforts of the gods.⁴⁷ In legal, religious, and familial terms, Augustus maintained superiority over his commanders, and their work on campaign should thus be interpreted as designed to reinforce his position rather than to carve out imperial positions for themselves in the next generation.

We can see tension concerning the status of Augustus’ family generals, however, in Dio’s discussion of 12–11 B.C.E. and the successful actions led by

⁴⁶ Campbell, *Emperor and the Army*, 153.

⁴⁷ Vergil *Georgics* 1.25, *Aeneid* 1.278–9, Ovid *Tristia* 2.1.221, *Letters from Pontus* 2.9.33, 3.3.61, Horace *Carmen* 1.12.4, 3.5, 4.5.25, Propertius 4.6.



Figure 4.2 Terracotta drinking cup from the military camp at Vetera, engraved with portraits of Augustus and Livia (Livia shown). Bonn, Rheinisches Landesmuseum 22534a, photo courtesy of the museum, neg. 383/72 .

Tiberius in Pannonia and Drusus on the Rhine.⁴⁸ By 12, at least according to Dio, the senators apparently felt that Tiberius, as Augustus' stepson and new son-in-law, and now having been allowed an important generalship, was of a sufficiently privileged status to receive a triumph. Balbus had been the last to celebrate one, in 19 B.C.E., while Agrippa had refused to accept the honor in deference to Augustus in 19 and 14.⁴⁹ However, Augustus refused this to Tiberius. Dio's discussion of Drusus' situation in 11 is even more illuminating: "Indeed, the title of *Imperator* was paid to him by his soldiers, as also to Tiberius earlier, but it was not granted by Augustus, although his own number of acclamations was increased by the deeds of both of them."⁵⁰ If Dio can be trusted, by 12–11 B.C.E., both the senate and the soldiers thought it appropriate to celebrate members of Augustus' house with the title heretofore reserved for Augustus himself.

⁴⁸ 54.31.1–33.5.

⁴⁹ Dio 54.11.6, 54.24.7.

⁵⁰ 54.33.5.

Augustus, however, wanted to be the only *imperator*; the preserved trophy set up by the senate to memorialize the Rhine–Danube victories mentions only Augustus.⁵¹ A similar statement about military hierarchy is portrayed on contemporary coins issued from the mint at Lugdunum; Tiberius and Drusus are depicted presenting their laurels to a seated Augustus, who is identified as their commander in the legend IMP X, “*Imperator* for the tenth time” (Figure 4.3).⁵² The soldiers paid with these coins perceived a clear relationship between their leaders in the field and the *Imperator* Augustus. Thus, again, we can see that Augustus utilized family members as commanders, but did so to accrue credit for military victory for himself and to maintain control over the army, and thereby reinforce his own position.

Finally, in our survey of Augustan military reforms, we should note the effects of Augustus making army service a recognized lifetime career for regular soldiers. By 13 B.C.E., the terms of enlistment were fixed, so that legionaries signed on for sixteen years and praetorians twelve.⁵³ Moreover, during the course of Augustus’ rule an elaborate career ladder developed inside the ranks, from the level of centurions to legionary commanders.⁵⁴ Thus, just as Augustus and his relatives came more and more explicitly to control the armies, career officers developed within the ranks with a clear understanding of who led them.

Augustus carefully reinforced these long-term ties to his soldiers economically. Generals of the late republic had worked to have land allotted to their veterans; soldiers had come to expect this resettlement upon discharge, and the immense amounts of land required had forced the triumvirs to displace hundreds of people. Veteran colonies were thus Octavian’s first impulse, although he funded the land purchases out of his own pocket.⁵⁵ When he fixed the enlistment terms for soldiers in 13 B.C.E., however, he established a set amount of cash the men would receive upon completion of that term.⁵⁶ Augustus thereby eased the pressure to find colonial land, but he maintained the link between the military success of the general and the financial success of his soldiers, and even advertised the fact that he set up this discharge fund using his own money.⁵⁷

Similarly, despite his rhetorical and legislative efforts to restore the Roman

51 CIL 5.7817, Pliny *Natural History* 3.136.

52 RIC 191–3.

53 Dio 54.25.5–6.

54 B. Dobson, “The Significance of the Centurion and ‘primipilaris’ in the Roman Army and Administration,” *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt* II.1 (1974): 392–434 and “The Centurionate and Social Mobility,” in *Recherches sur les structures sociales dans l’antiquité classique*, ed. C. Nicolet (Paris: Éditions du Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1970), 99–115.

55 *Res Gestae* 16.

56 Dio 54.25.5–6.

57 *Res Gestae* 16, Dio 55.25.1–3.



Figure 4.3 Reverse of silver denarius from mint at Lugdunum, Gaul, 15–10 B.C.E. Augustus is shown seated on a platform and receiving laurel branches from Tiberius and Drusus. *RIC* 165a, *BMC* Augustus 446. American Numismatic Society 1937.158.424, museum photo.

family, Augustus interfered with certain family obligations in the case of soldiers to protect them financially. For example, Augustus decreed that a soldier with a living father was able to make a will from the money he acquired during his service.⁵⁸ Normally a man under his father's *potestas* could not own property; everything he earned belonged to his *pater*. However, Augustus broke this economic family unit in the case of soldiers to allow them control over their service benefits. The money came to be called the *castrense peculium* on the model of the pocket money, or *peculium*, which fathers sometimes granted children and slaves.⁵⁹ The *Imperator* did so at the expense of these soldiers' legal fathers, and in granting a *peculium* even took a paternal role over his legionaries.⁶⁰ In a variety of ways, therefore, the family – both as a cultural construct and as a source of loyal assistants – became involved in Augustus' control of the Roman military.

VICTORY IN THE CITY

One other space connected to the Roman military calls for attention, since Augustus and members of his family sponsored important buildings there. During the middle and late republic, the area of the southern Campus Martius in the city of Rome was particularly associated with the triumph, since it was here that the triumphal procession began and crossed the *pomerium*. Most of the temples built in the area were sponsored by generals who had celebrated

58 *Tituli Ulpiani* 20.10, Justinian *Institutes* 2.12 pr.

59 Many legal debates arose as to what counted in this “camp money”; see Campbell, *Emperor and the Army*, 229–36.

60 Cf. David Daube, *Roman Law: Linguistic, Social and Philosophical Aspects* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1969), 78. We might compare how Augustus forbade fathers from disinheriting sons serving in the military, thus again breaking traditional family prerogatives in order to protect his soldiers; Paul *Sententiae* 28.2.26; Campbell, *Emperor and the Army*, 211–12.

triumphs,⁶¹ and the first triumphal arches and other important dedications of spoils were also made in this area.⁶² As recently as 29 B.C.E. a temple had been dedicated by a victorious general, although C. Sosius wisely decorated the Temple of Apollo with a frieze commemorating Octavian's victory at Actium, rather than his own.⁶³ The district was highly charged with an association with victory and the public celebration of great men; Augustus transformed it into a monument to his and his family's continuing protection of Rome.

As noted in Chapter 2, Octavian Augustus began work in this area by renovating many of the republican temples. Moreover, Julius Caesar had originally cleared the space in which a theater was eventually dedicated. But Caesar's successor quickly made the design of the complex his own, and we know an interesting set of details about it which help us understand certain new statements about the role of Augustus' family. First of all, the theater was dedicated in 13 B.C.E. in the name of Augustus' late son-in-law Marcellus, who had died in 23 B.C.E. before having achieved any particular civic or military honor in his own right. The *scaenae frons* was decorated with four large columns which M. Aemilius Scaurus had imported from Greece in 58 B.C.E. for the facade of a temporary wooden theater, but had later used to ornament the *atrium* of his own house.⁶⁴ Finally, the closest portico, probably the former *Porticus Metelli*,⁶⁵ was renovated and renamed the *Porticus Octaviae* in honor of Augustus' sister and Marcellus' mother (Figure 4.4). These monuments make complicated statements about Augustus and his family in the later years of the 10s B.C.E.

First of all, the naming of a building for someone else, particularly a family member, was unprecedented. The great monuments of the republic were all referred to by the name of the builder, if their names recalled any human individual at all. Thus, we find the Porticus Metelli, the Theater of Pompey, the Basilica Aemilia, the Saepta Julia, and the like. Although many of these stress family names and thus share glory with descendants, they have little in common with buildings named after a man's individual relatives, particularly his sister and nephew/son-in-law. Moreover, many contemporaries state that Octavia herself finished the theater and portico as a monument to her son.⁶⁶ She certainly dedicated a school and library in the portico,⁶⁷ and was probably

61 Eric Orlin, *Temples, Religion and Politics in the Roman Republic* (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 116–61.

62 Kleiner, "Arch of Octavius," 350–2.

63 T. Hölscher, "Denkmäler der Schlacht von Actium," *Klio* 67 (1985): 81–102.

64 Pliny *Natural History* 36.7, Asconius *Against Scaurus* 45; Zanker, *Power of Images*, 137. See also the discussion of this event above in Chapter 2.

65 For a discussion of the problems in identifying this portico, see especially T. P. Wiseman, "The Circus Flaminius," *Papers of the British School at Rome* 42 (1974): 3–26 and Richardson, *Topographical Dictionary*, 317–18.

66 Ovid *Art of Love* 1.69–70, Livy *Periocha* 140, *contra* Suetonius, *Augustus* 29.4 and Dio 49.43.8, who state that Augustus built these in the names of his relatives.

67 Propertius 3.18.11–20, Plutarch *Marcia* 30.6, Pliny *Natural History* 35.114, 36.22.

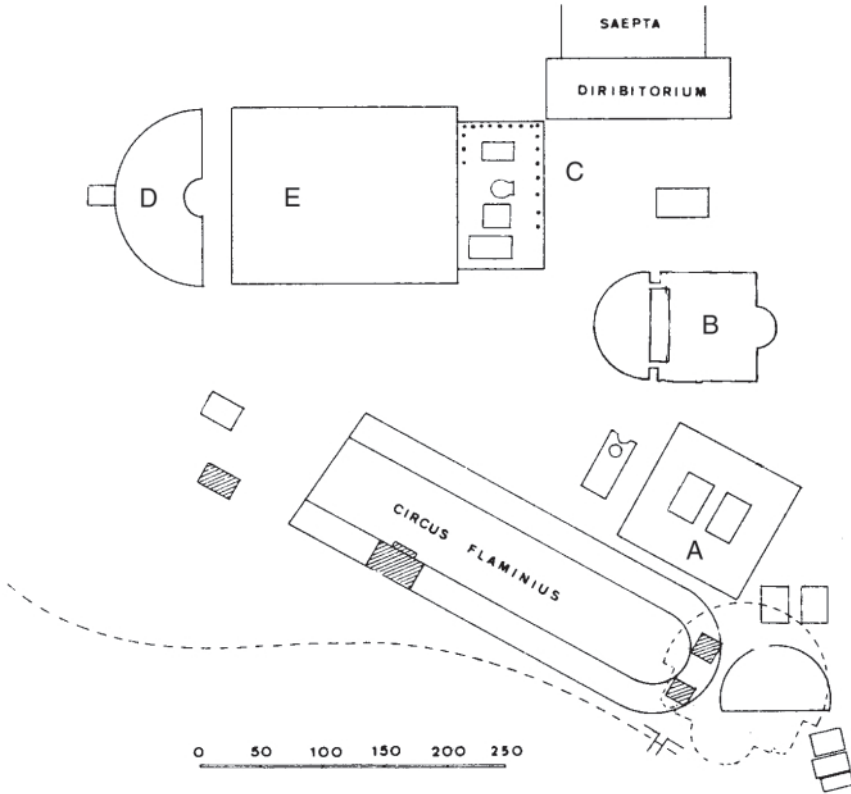


Figure 4.4 Plan of the southern Campus Martius, adapted from F. Coarelli, *Roma* (Rome: Gius, Laterza & Figli, 1980), 303. Triumphs began in the open field of the Circus Flaminius. The dotted outline marks the Theater of Marcellus, for which two small temples had been dismantled by Caesar. The nearby *porticus* (A) is probably the one renamed for Octavia. Neighboring buildings include the Theater of Balbus and its portico (B), republican temples in the modern Largo Argentina (C), the Theater of Pompey (D), and its adjoining portico (E).

responsible for decorating it with famous works of art.⁶⁸ For a woman to sponsor a public building and name it after herself was an even more unprecedented act than for her brother to erect in it her honor.

The “returning” of Scaurus’ monumental columns to the public in the Theater of Marcellus helps to explain how Octavia’s action was presented as acceptable. The display of tearing down Scaurus’ *domus* and giving the columns back to the people belongs in the context of Augustus’ reestablishment of the proper moral boundaries between family and public life. Augustus used

68 Pliny *Natural History* 34.31, 35.114, 139, 36.15, 22–4, 34–5.

Scaurus as a negative example; columns in particular were associated by the Romans with public architecture,⁶⁹ and Scaurus' use of them in his private home was thus declared an inappropriate self-indulgence of the type which had destroyed the *res publica*.⁷⁰ Augustus thus chastised and corrected Scaurus' "improper" appropriations of public property, while his sister and nephew demonstrated exemplary aristocratic behavior by using the columns for the people's pleasure in a new theater. By filling the associated portico with famous artwork, Octavia similarly returned items to public view which had recently been hoarded in private collections.⁷¹ We thus see in these new monuments a step towards a public role for members of Augustus' private family as models of aristocratic duty.

Moreover, Octavia herself may be interpreted in this situation as utilizing contemporary public discourse about morality and obligation to carve out an unprecedented position for herself in public life. Augustus' recent marriage legislation had stressed the civic responsibility of men and women to have children; in this theater and portico complex named for herself and her son, Octavia publicly celebrated her maternity. The care taken with this self-presentation is evident in the artwork selected for the portico.⁷² Many of the pieces depicted famous women and goddesses,⁷³ and included among them was the only public statue of a woman known from the republican period, that of Cornelia, the mother of the Gracchi.⁷⁴ These images of noteworthy motherhood not only provided precedents for Octavia, they helped transform her into a model matron as well.

The Theater of Marcellus and the Portico of Octavia formed a unit of public architecture that celebrated a private family relationship, that of mother and son. This was not a relationship usually associated with this district of republican triumphs and the monuments which survived to memorialize them. In one sense, the dedication of a new public theater and portico in the names of Augustus' relatives celebrated his family's patronage of public entertainment. But triumphs continued to process through this district in the empire, and the associations with victory were far from eliminated. We should see a

69 Wallace-Hadrill, *Houses and Society*, 4–5; Cato ORF fragment 185, Varro *On Rustic Life* 1.59.2, 1.2.10.

70 On the Roman moral-political discourse on *luxuria* and Augustus' interaction with it, see above, Chapter 2. On the morality of buildings in particular, see Cato *On Agriculture* 3.1, Varro *On Rustic Life* 1.13.6–7, Cicero *Against Piso* 48, Columella 1.4.8, Tacitus *Annals* 3.37, Juvenal 14.66; Wallace-Hadrill, *Houses and Society*, 4, and Edwards, *Politics of Immorality*, 137–62.

71 Cf. Pliny *Natural History* 35.26.

72 Cf. R. Lewis, "Some Mothers . . ." *Athenaeum* n.s. 66 (1988): 198–200; Paul Schrömbges, *Tiberius und die Res Publica Romana. Untersuchungen zur Institutionalisierung des frühen römischen Principats* (Bonn: Habelt, 1986), 200; Bartman, *Portraits of Livia*, 79; Wood, *Imperial Women*, 33–4.

73 Pliny *Natural History* 36.43, 35.114, 35.139, 36.15, 22, 24, 28, 34–5.

74 Pliny *Natural History* 34.31; Flory, "Livia," 292.

combination of themes related to the growing involvement of Augustus' relatives in the military; his family would now provide and deserve celebration for military victory and the enjoyable peace it provided at home. Moreover, in their role as mothers, a newly politicized status, Roman women in emulation of Octavia could contribute to these successes of the state.

This change in the gendering of public life in the case of Augustus' relatives was dramatically confirmed at Octavia's death in 11 or 9 B.C.E.,⁷⁵ when Augustus supervised a state funeral in her honor. He and his stepson Drusus delivered eulogies in the Roman forum while her body lay in state at the Temple of Divus Julius, a monument to their shared divine ancestor surrounded by the spoils of Augustus' triumphs over Egypt and Parthia.⁷⁶ This ceremony – traditionally used to celebrate the public service of certain men, but now used to honor a woman – was designed to underscore her entire family's special responsibility for Rome.

CONCLUSIONS

In conclusion, men of different generations within Augustus' household were heavily utilized in his growing monopoly over the military. Agrippa was the source of many of Octavian Augustus' victories before and after Actium. As Tiberius and Drusus came of age, they took over important commissions in the east and on the northern European frontiers. Gaius and Lucius later died on tours of duty in the east during their early twenties. Meanwhile, opportunities for other members of the aristocracy to lead troops declined, and even those appointed to be *legati* had trained as youths under the leadership of their contemporaries from Augustus' family. Ceremonies and images within the camps and in Rome helped establish an important public role for Augustus' household – military command and responsibility for victory.

In the context of the development toward an imperial family, however, an important point deserves emphasis. Inside the family, we cannot see preference for one military commander over another: that is, we cannot find a military "heir" any more than we could find a primary heir to Augustus' estate or his other public duties. In camp portraits, on coins, in military ceremonies and awards, emphasis was repeatedly placed on the family as a unit, or on the hierarchic relationship of the commanders to their *pater* Augustus. These men thus reinforced Augustus' control without creating potential rivals to him either inside or outside the family, a pattern very similar to the family's decisions about marriages and adoptions discussed in the previous chapter.

⁷⁵ Dio 54.35.4–5, Suetonius *Augustus* 61.2.

⁷⁶ Wood, *Imperial Women*, 34; Paul Zanker, *Forum Romanum: die Neugestaltung durch Augustus* (Tübingen: E. Wasmuth, 1972), 13–17.

In the 10s B.C.E., practical decisions in terms of marriage, adoption, and choosing military commanders conspired to cast an aura of distinction around the house of Augustus. The decisions were prompted by the coming of age of the next generation of his family. As they became adults, Augustus increasingly used his relatives to consolidate his hold on power, particularly in terms of the armed forces. These strategies helped create the impression that his family, as well as himself, had a continuing public role, and by 13–12 B.C.E. this impression was beginning to be reflected in public buildings, coin images, and new attempts to honor Augustus' stepsons. An interesting result is that new depictions of Augustus tended to present him as a father. Finally, we have seen hints that individual members of the *Imperator's* family, such as Octavia, might utilize the developing status of her family and elements of contemporary moralizing discourse to carve out an unprecedented public position for *herself* as a model citizen, a status confirmed by her public funeral. We shall see all these trends increase dramatically over the next five years of Augustus' rule.

CULTS OF FAMILY AND STATE

Piety, patriotism, and the *pater*,
12–7 B.C.E.

As we have seen in the last two chapters, the period following the celebration of the *Ludi Saeculares* in 17 B.C.E. was one of change in and around the family of Augustus. The coming of age of the next generation forced decisions about marriages, family strategies, and the public role particularly of the men of the house. In analyzing these decisions, I argued that Augustus and his relatives should not be seen as aiming at a dynasty at this early stage, but rather utilizing the resources of his family to consolidate his position. Even so, the effects of such strategies began to appear in public imagery; around 13 B.C.E., state coins, cups in military camps, and public buildings in the city began to honor the family of Augustus and its individual members in unusual ways. These images reflect a number of converging phenomena – public discourse about familial and civic obligations in the aftermath of the civil wars, the growing social status of Augustus' family due to its role in protecting his position, and the occasional presentation of his own role in the community as at least partly paternal.

Even so, in the period we have been studying we can find no public depiction of Augustus' family in the archeological or literary record as dramatic as what was produced in the five years between 12 and 7 B.C.E. In 12, Augustus became *pontifex maximus*, the chief priest in Rome, and thus we should not be surprised that new experiments in presenting his role came in the area of religion. In cult practices and in their understanding of the way humans interacted with the divine, the Romans usually maintained a distinction between the family and the civic community. In the early to middle years of Augustus' long reign, however, a number of new cult forms developed which blurred this conceptual distinction in the case of Augustus and his family. The cumulative effect of these rites and festivals was to make the family of Augustus part of the religious framework of the entire community, and also to define that community as part of a household under the spiritual protection of its *pater*, Augustus.

RELIGION AND SOCIAL HIERARCHY

We begin with a brief sketch of the manner in which Roman religion functioned, at least in part, to demarcate positions of authority within families and within the civic community. The difference between how the latter power was shared by senators in the republic and concentrated on a single individual in the empire reveals an important element of imperial ideology. Moreover, we can see the process whereby Augustus helped shape this ideology in the creation of certain cults shortly after his assumption of the position of *pontifex maximus*.

As discussed briefly in Chapter 1, within a Roman home we know of shrines honoring the *lares* (protective deities of particular places) and the *genius* of the master of the house (a man's divine twin). Other household gods include the *Penates*, somewhat amorphous deities who protected the hearth, another sacred center of the Roman home. Cato gives us insight into the social dynamic surrounding these divinities. In his advice on to how to manage a housekeeper, he notes that: "Kalendis, Idibus, Nonis, festus dies cum erit, coronam in focum indat, per eosdemque dies lari familiari pro copia supplicet," "On the Kalends, Ides and Nones, and other holy days, she must hang a garland over the hearth, and on those days pray to the household god as opportunity offers."¹ Thus, slaves cultivated the deities of the house itself. Cato's advice also includes, however:

Rem divinam ni faciat neve mandet, qui pro ea faciat, iniussu domini aut dominae. Scito dominum pro tota familia rem divinam facere.

She must not engage in religious worship herself, nor commission others to engage in it for her, without the order of the master or mistress; know that the master attends to religion on behalf of the whole household.

Thus, the master of the house is worshiped, in a sense, within his home, but serves as the intermediary between his home and the gods in the larger world. This dual role is encapsulated in depictions of the *genius* figure, who is usually worshiped in the shrine, but is shown as a citizen with the edge of his toga pulled up over his head (*capite velato*), and thus in the process of conducting cult himself (Figure 5.7). This position of the father of the family in the religious plane mirrors a pattern seen elsewhere in Roman life, as the *pater* served as the representative for his family in politics, at law, and the like; as discussed in Chapter 1, ideologically the *pater* was the part of the family who interacted with the public sphere.

Out in this *res publica* of the republic, elite fathers of their households took on the additional duty of acting as intermediaries with the divine on behalf of

1 *On Agriculture* 143.

the community as a whole. Mary Beard points out that the “senate was the principal . . . focus of mediation between the gods and men in Republican Rome.”² Within the elegant oligarchy of the republic, the specific tasks involved were then shared among individual religious officials: a college of augurs interpreted messages from the gods in the form of signs, *pontifices* interpreted divine law, etc.³ In addition, at certain state ceremonies, elected magistrates conducted sacrifices on behalf of Rome, such as consuls before battles or elections, and assemblies of the people were able to make dedications to the gods.⁴ Thus, the interaction of the community with the gods was managed jointly by the fathers of prominent households. These politician–priests maintained the Roman contract with the gods, the *pax deorum*, through which the Romans believed they obtained divine sanction for their actions, achieved military victory, and avoided natural, political, and other disasters.⁵

The Roman term *pietas* neatly summarizes a person’s obligations within this complex religious rubric. *Pietas* signifies dutiful devotion to family, to the gods, and to the *res publica*.⁶ In most discussions of the term, Roman men presented this obligation to family in terms of a sense of esteem for parents,⁷ but it could also be invoked to express a proper and affectionate relationship with children, a spouse, or other relatives, and even between a freedman and a patron.⁸ In the public realm, *pietas* signified a man’s service as a priest, reader of divine signs, magistrate, general or legislator – as a maintainer of the *pax deorum*. Thus, the hierarchic structure of the Roman family and community was expressed and constantly reenacted through religious forms.

Now Octavian had begun experimenting with religion to express his own position from the beginning of his rise to power. Since Julius Caesar had been recognized as a new god, in the 40s and 30s B.C.E. Octavian liked to call himself “divi filius,” “son of a god.” He also cultivated a close identification

2 “Priesthood in the Roman Republic,” in *Pagan Priests. Religion and Power in the Ancient World*, eds Mary Beard and John North (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1990), 33.

3 On republican priesthods, see Beard, “Priesthood;” John North, “Diviners and Divination at Rome,” in *Pagan Priests. Religion and Power in the Ancient World*, eds Mary Beard and John North (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1990), 49–72; Beard, North, and Price, *Religions of Rome*, I:18–30, 99–140; and Richard Gordon, “From Republic to Principate: Priesthood, Religion and Ideology,” in *Pagan Priests. Religion and Power in the Ancient World*, eds Mary Beard and John North (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1990), 179–98.

4 Beard, “Priesthood,” 33–4; G. J. Szemler, “Religio, Priests and Magistrates in the Roman Republic,” *Numen* 18 (1971): 103–31.

5 Cf. Cicero, *On the Nature of the Gods* 3.2.5; P. Jal, “Les dieux et les guerres civiles dans la Rome de la fin de la République” *Revue des Études Latines* 40 (1962): 170–200; Gordon, “Republic to Principate,” 194–7.

6 Cicero *On Rhetorical Invention* 2.65–6, *For Plancius* 90, *On Duties* 2.11, *On the Res Publica* 6.16; cf. H. Wagenvoort, *Pietas: Selected Studies in Roman Religion* (Leiden: Brill, 1980), 1–20.

7 Valerius Maximus 5.4.3–7, Pliny *Natural History* 7.121, Seneca *Controversiae* 1.1.16.

8 Plautus *Poenulus* 1137, *Stichus* 7a, *Ad Herennium* 2.19, Pliny *Natural History* 7.121, Valerius Maximus 5.7; see especially Saller, *Patriarchy*, 105–14.

with the god Apollo. Following his victory at Actium, Octavian began to portray himself as a *pius* man, who had waged a war against Brutus and Cassius to avenge the assassination of his father Caesar, and recently against Antony for the mistreatment of his sister Octavia.⁹ To demonstrate his similar *pietas* to the gods, he rebuilt dozens of temples and encouraged the celebration of religious rites, and finally in 27 “restored the old form of the republic” out of respect for the community. At that moment, Octavian took the name “Augustus,” “holy or revered one,” a relatively unprecedented religious term which identified him as a savior of the state.¹⁰ A decade later, Augustus organized the *Ludi Saeculares* to celebrate Rome’s rebirth and the revival of inseparable public and private morality under his care. Increasingly, the August One presented himself as responsible for Rome’s good fortune and thus its good relationship with the gods. A coin minted in 16 celebrates his growing and unusual religious monopoly, for it displays symbols from the four major Roman priesthoods, all of which Augustus had by then obtained.¹¹

After Augustus became *pontifex maximus* in 12, this trend intensified. We can see the goal of his accumulation of priestly offices, particularly in his manipulations of the pontificate and the associated public cult of Vesta, in the imagery of the Altar to Augustan Peace, and in the new neighborhood cults founded in 7 B.C.E.; herein, Augustus presented himself as solely responsible for the maintenance of the community’s relationship with the divine. In the area of religion, therefore, Augustus first clearly articulated a vision of the state in which power and responsibility rested in one man, not a group of competing men. Moreover, in a Roman context, a useful way to express this was by identifying Augustus’ religious role as that of a father to his family.

VESTA AND THE *PONTIFEX MAXIMUS*

In 13 B.C.E., M. Aemilius Lepidus, the third triumvir with Octavian and Antony, died. Having been withdrawn from public life since the 30s B.C.E., he was of no great political consequence, except that his passing finally left open the office of the chief priest of Roman civic religion, the *pontifex maximus*. Augustus had staunchly refused to accept the office during Lepidus’ lifetime, but on March 6, 12 B.C.E. he became the head of the most important religious college at Rome.¹² He became the official interpreter of divine law, with corresponding authority over the community’s sacred calendar, the college which directed the interpretation of prodigies, and the special formulae for

9 Brutus and Cassius: Suetonius *Augustus* 29.2; Antony: see above, Chapter 2.

10 For more on the name, see Beard, North, and Price, *Religions of Rome*, I:182–3.

11 *RIC* I² 367–8, *Res Gestae* 7.3; cf. Beard, North, and Price, *Religions of Rome*, I:186–8; Beard, “Priesthood,” 48; Gordon, “Republic to Principate.”

12 *Res Gestae* 10; *Feriale Cumanum*, *Fasti Praenestini*, Ovid *Fasti* 3.419–20.

dedicating sacred spaces.¹³ Small wonder that the most intriguing developments in the status of Augustus and his house over the succeeding five years came in the form of cult.

Augustus' personal adaptations of the office of *pontifex maximus* illustrate themes of these developments, particularly in the way they combined his family with the state. Among his many duties, the chief priest oversaw the Vestal priestesses and the state cult of Vesta, the Roman goddess of the hearth.¹⁴ As such, the priest lived in the *domus publica*, literally a "public house," near the temple of Vesta in the Roman forum. Instead of moving there, however, Augustus made part of his own Palatine house "public" and dedicated a new shrine to Vesta inside it.¹⁵ He then completed this identification of the state hearth with his own by housing the statuettes of his own family gods – his *Penates* and *lares* – in this Palatine shrine of Vesta.¹⁶ The incorporation of the cult into Augustus' house was greatly aided by the preexisting similarity of Vesta's worship to family cult; nevertheless, the message of the new home of the *pontifex maximus* and Vesta was clear. Augustus accepted sole responsibility for the family gods of the civic community. His hearth was the hearth of Rome, and he tended it as a father of a *familia*.

The other associations of Vesta also made statements about Augustus' house. The Temple of Vesta held not only the sacred hearth fire, but also the Palladium statue and the *di Penates*, the community's version of the household gods. Both the *di Penates* and the Palladium were said to have been brought by Aeneas from Troy, and thus were closely associated with the foundation of Rome.¹⁷ Moreover, through Aeneas' son Iulus, the Julian house boasted descent from Aeneas, as Vergil had recently and eloquently celebrated in the *Aeneid*. By housing the Palladium and Troy's other deities in his own house with his own *Penates*, Augustus emphasized his link with this critical figure of the state's and his family's legendary past.

Images celebrating Augustus' new position, such as the Belvedere Altar and contemporary *denarii*, also make reference to Caesar, Augustus' other divinized ancestor (Figure 5.1).¹⁸ Augustus himself emphasized that Caesar had held the chief pontificate:

13 Plutarch *Numa* 9–10; H. H. Scullard, *Festivals and Ceremonies of the Roman Republic* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1981), 26–8; Fishwick, *Imperial Cult*, I:89.

14 Plutarch *Numa* 9–10; Scullard, *Festivals*, 28.

15 Dio 54.27.3, Ovid *Fasti* 4.949–54, *II* Map 1 no. 14; cf. M. Guarducci, "Enea e Vesta," *Memoirs of the American Academy at Rome* 78 (1971): 89–118; Beard, North, and Price, *Religions of Rome*, I:189–91.

16 *CIL* I² 1, p. 317; Ovid *Metamorphoses* 15.864.

17 Vergil *Aeneid* 2.296, 567, Ovid *Fasti* 1.527–8, 3.29, 6.227, *Metamorphoses* 15.730–1, *Tristia* 3.1.29, Propertius 4.4.69, Dionysius of Halicarnassus *Roman Antiquities* 2.65.2, Cicero *Against Scaurus* 48, Livy 26.27.14; Orr, "Roman Domestic Religion," 1560–1.

18 On the altar, see Galinsky, *Augustan Culture*, 319–21 and Inez Scott Ryberg, *Rites of the State Religion in Roman Art. Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome* 22 (1955): 56. The coin is catalogued and discussed in Fullerton, "Domus Augusti," 475, 479.

Pontifex maximus ne fierem in vivi conlegae locum, populo id sacerdotium deferente mihi, quod pater meus habuerat, recusavi. Quod sacerdotium post annos aliquod eo mortuo demum, qui tumultus occasione occupaverat . . . recepi.

I refused to become *pontifex maximus* in the place of a colleague still alive, when the people offered me that priesthood which my father had held. Some years later I accepted that priesthood when at last he was dead, the one who had seized it in the opportunity offered by civil unrest.¹⁹

By hinting that the office was destined to be his in part by inheritance – both through Divus Julius and through Aeneas – Augustus laid an even stronger personal claim on the caretakership of Rome for which the *pontifex maximus* was responsible (Figure 5.1). Such an idea also made conceptual space for Augustus' descendants to claim the priesthood as a prerogative of his line in the future.

Finally, the new shrine of Vesta on the Palatine was dedicated on April 28,²⁰ a day which resonated with the idea that Augustus, the pious savior of the endangered *res publica*, had refounded the city. This date was quite close to the Parilia, the anniversary of the city's foundation by Romulus on April 21, and a celebration which had rites involving the cult of Vesta.²¹ It also lay between two of Rome's most important festivals of bounty and fertility, the Cerialia (April 12–19) and the Floralia (April 28–May 3).²² Thus, the festivals with which the new shrine's anniversary would be celebrated expressed the abundance and fertility, the rebirth and refoundation created for the whole Roman people by Augustus and his family's care of Vesta.

Ovid's account of Augustus' assumption of the office of *pontifex maximus* incorporates all of these themes – the responsibility of Augustus' family, past and present, for Vesta, and thus for Rome's continued success and prosperity:

Caesaris innumeris, (quos maluit ille mereri?)
accessit titulis pontificalis honor.
Ignibus aeternis aeterni numina praesunt
Caesaris: imperii pignora iuncta vides.
Di veteris Troiae, dignissima praeda ferenti,
qua gravis Aeneas tutus ab hoste fuit,
ortus ab Aenea tangit cognata sacerdos
numina: cognatum, Vesta, tuere caput!

19 *Res Gestae* 10.2.

20 *Fasti Praenestini*, Ovid *Fasti* 4.949–54.

21 Ovid *Fasti* 4.731–4; cf. Beard, North, and Price, *Religions of Rome*, I:174–6.

22 Guarducci, "Enea e Vesta," 108.

Quos sancta fovet ille manu, bene vivitis, ignes:
vivite inextincti, flammaque duxque, precor.

To Augustus Caesar's innumerable titles, (which would he rather have earned?)

the pontifical office has been added.

The divinity of eternal Caesar presides over the eternal fires:

you see the joined guarantees of empire.

Gods of ancient Troy, most worthy reward for the one who carried you,
through whom weighty Aeneas was safe from the enemy,
a priest risen from Aeneas touches your kindred divinities:

Vesta, protect your kin's head!

The fires, whose sanctities he nurses with his hand, live well:
live unextinguished, flame and leader, I pray.²³

The rhetoric surrounding Augustus' assumption of the chief pontificate thus evoked the family in many ways. For the most part, however, the family referred to is ancestral: that is, Aeneas and the Divine Julius Caesar. Such images did not aim to delineate a dynasty, but rather to cast a special aura of



Figure 5.1a



Figure 5.1b

²³ *Fasti* 3.419–28.



Figure 5.1c

Figure 5.1 Belvedere Altar. One side (a) shows Augustus handing statuettes of the *lares* to three Vestals. Another side (b) includes an image of Aeneas arriving in Latium and the sow he will sacrifice to his household gods, while a third (c) shows the apotheosis of Caesar. The fourth side, not pictured, shows a winged victory between the two laurels of Augustus' doorway and mounting a shield on which he is titled *pontifex maximus*. See Kleiner, *Roman Sculpture*, 102–3. Vatican, Museo Gregorio Profano 1115. Photos by Rossa, courtesy of the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Rome, 75.1290, 75.1286, 75.1289.

distinction and sacrosanctity upon Augustus' tenure of this important position. Augustus and his contemporaries were starting to use this office to articulate a permanent and pre-ordained role for him in the community. This certainly had implications for his living family – they tended the state goddess Vesta and the founding deities of Rome in their home, giving them quasi-public roles. We will see later how the women of the imperial house came to be associated with the Vestal priestesses, and how they could manipulate their family's status to create public roles for themselves. But, much in the way that men of Augustus' household were given privileged military careers in order to

help maintain Augustus' hold on the military, the public status of his relatives in religious terms developed out of a new way of understanding Augustus' role in the community.

AUGUSTUS' FAMILY AND THE *PAX DEORUM*: THE ARA PACIS AUGUSTAE

Many of these themes and associations are also found on the Altar to August Peace, the Ara Pacis Augustae, vowed in 13 and dedicated in 9 B.C.E.²⁴ On this altar to the goddess Pax, however, almost all images of peace and security come in the individually depicted forms of members of Augustus' family, both human and divine. The men, women, and children of Augustus' house are thus shown to exemplify and ensure the productive peace which Augustus brought to Rome – a clear step toward a defined public role for his private family. Moreover, in this familial context, the leadership of Augustus himself over Rome is naturally depicted as paternal.

The senate decreed the construction and dedication of an altar to Peace to celebrate Augustus' return from Spain and Gaul on July 4, 13 B.C.E.²⁵ The altar was finally dedicated on January 30, 9 B.C.E.,²⁶ just west of the Via Flaminia in the northern part of the Campus Martius. It faced the road to the east, but the slope of the land forced an approach from the west, so visitors walked around the monument to use the altar. The altar itself is surrounded by a two-meter-high, marble screen, and both are embellished with sculpted relief.

The exterior of the screen is divided into upper and lower registers. On all sides, the lower register shows scrolling vegetation, with small birds and animals carved into the leaves – evidence of the prosperity and fertility provided by the Augustan peace. On either end, two panels show individual scenes from Roman legend and myth. The west end includes a panel of Aeneas, who is shown making a sacrifice with the aid of his son Iulus. In the opposite scene, their descendants, Romulus and Remus, the founders of the city of Rome, are depicted as babies being saved by the famous she wolf (Figure 5.2).

On the eastern end of the altar screen are two allegorical panels. One shows a seated, voluptuous female holding two plump babies, flanked by lush vegetation and personifications of the winds, with miniature farm animals at her feet (Figure 5.4). Although the precise identification of the main character is debated,²⁷ the general message of the scene cannot be mistaken – rampant

24 For excellent summaries of the vast bibliography on this monument see especially Kleiner, *Roman Sculpture*, 119 and Rose, *Dynastic Commemoration*, 104.

25 *Res Gestae* 12.2.

26 Ovid *Fasti* 1.709–22.

27 Italia, Pax, Tellus, Terra Mater, and Venus, among others, have been suggested; Richardson, *Topographical Dictionary*, 288; Kuttner, *Boscovale Cups*, 106. Galinsky, *Augustan Culture*, 458–63, argues that multiple references are intended.

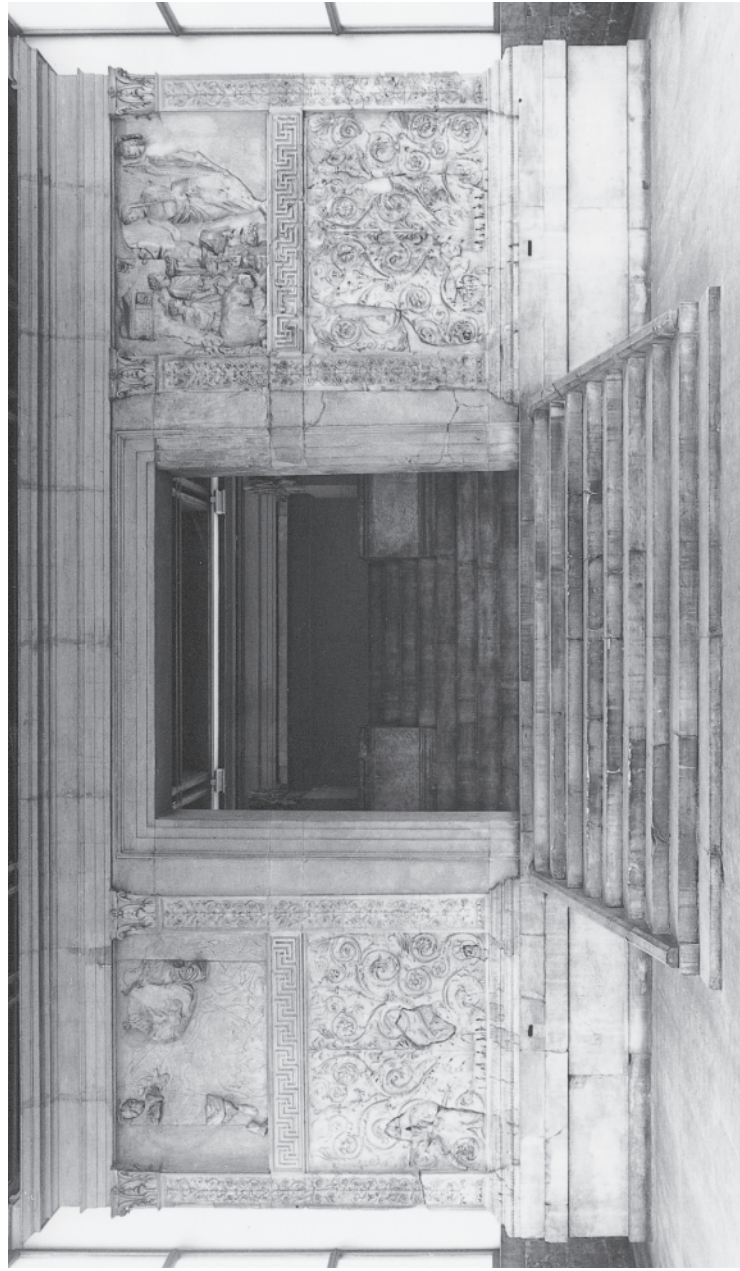


Figure 5.2 View of the entrance to the Ara Pacis Augustae from the west side. On the screen surrounding the altar, lower registers show scrolling vegetation. In the upper panels visible here, the left side shows Romulus and Remus being discovered by Faustus, Mars, or both; the right side depicts Aeneas sacrificing to the *Penates* with his son Iulus as assistant. Photo by Singer, courtesy of the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Rome, 72.647.

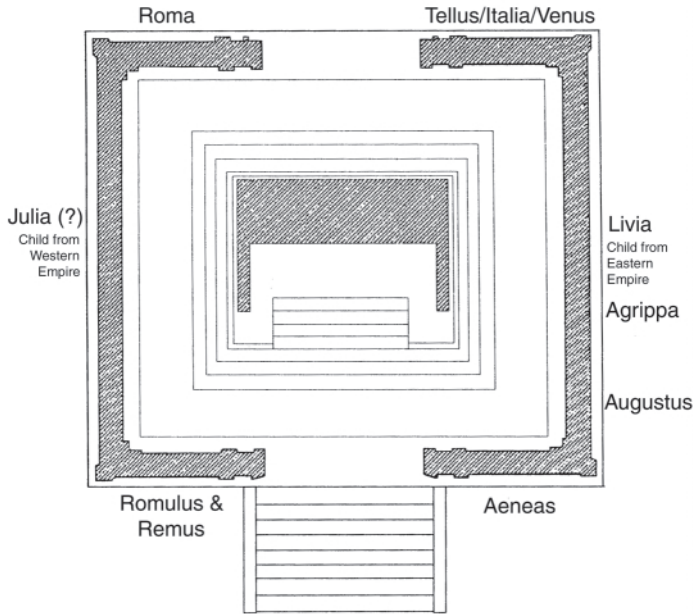


Figure 5.3 Key features of the decorative program of the Ara Pacis Augustae. Adapted from Galinsky, *Augustan Culture*, Figure 61.



Figure 5.4 Detail of a panel on the eastern side of the Ara Pacis Augustae celebrating images of fecundity and prosperity. The central female figure has been variously identified as Tellus, Venus, and Italia. Photo Alinari/Art Resource, New York, 1187.

fecundity. Across from that panel, a highly fragmentary scene probably presented a seated personification of Rome.

The upper register of the long (north and south) sides depicts a religious procession, perhaps the ground-breaking ceremony of 13 B.C.E., a generalization of the annual sacrifice the senate decreed to be performed there, or even the inauguration of Augustus as *pontifex maximus*.²⁸ The sculpted procession moves in the same direction as living celebrants at the altar, bringing the viewer into the scene.²⁹ In the parade, we can identify groups of state priests, notable for their detailed ritual implements and costumes, and members of Augustus' family, including women and children (Figures 5.5 and 5.6).

The images in the different zones combine to make interesting statements about Augustus. For example, his pose in the south procession directly parallels that of Aeneas, his ancestor, around the corner on the west end.³⁰ Aeneas is also shown sacrificing to the *Penates* with the assistance of his son, Iulus. Aeneas is thus presented doing for the first time what his descendant Augustus now did in real life as *pontifex maximus*. As the priest responsible for the cult of the state hearth, which now mingled with his own *Penates*, Augustus had become even more the descendant and reincarnation of Aeneas. On the altar, their status and their similarity are defined at least in part through showing them in the process of interacting with the gods on behalf of the community.

Moreover, this unique responsibility of Aeneas and Augustus is visually expressed through their status as fathers. Just as fathers interacted with the gods for their families, so Augustus communicated with the divine for the whole community. The altar thus created a new public role for Augustus' family, but it did so because it was articulating a new way to discuss Augustus' evolving relationship with the state. The language found useful was the cultural associations – both the cults and the hierarchies – of the Roman family.

The idea of family dominates the entire state monument. The individual panels showing Roman legends and mythological allegories emphasize family groups. Iulus assists his father Aeneas, and, although it is fragmentary, the scene with Romulus and Remus shows them being discovered by their foster father Faustulus, and their father Mars may also be present. In the altar scenes, all the leaders are presented as fathers; fathers Augustus and Aeneas and even

28 See R. Billows, "The Religious Procession of the Ara Pacis Augustae: Augustus' *Supplicatio* in 13 B.C.," *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 6 (1993): 80–92; G. W. Bowersock, "The Pontificate of Augustus," in *Between Republic and Empire. Interpretations of Augustus and his Principate*, eds Kurt A. Raaflaub and Mark Toher (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), 380–94; Mario Torelli, *Typology and Structure of Roman Historical Reliefs* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1992), 46. Bowersock, "Pontificate of Augustus," 391, argues that the procession depicted on the altar screen is the one celebrating Augustus' becoming *pontifex maximus* in 12 B.C.E. *contra* Billows, "Religious Procession."

29 Richardson, *Topographical Dictionary*, 288.

30 J. Pollini, *The Portraiture of Gaius and Lucius* (New York: Fordham University Press, 1987), 298.



Figure 5.5 Procession scene on the north side of the Ara Pacis Augustae. The neck torque, attire, and pose of the toddler on the lower left identify him as one of the Gallic children brought by Drusus to be raised in Rome in Augustus' household. Photo Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Rome, 72.2402.

the god Mars provided the prosperity and the peace the altar celebrates. The image of the twin babies also recalls the plump babies on the far side of the altar and in the procession scene. Finally, not only do these panels emphasize family groups – fathers and sons, babies, a mother and children – but Aeneas, Iulus, Romulus, and Remus were all related to the family of Augustus.

Augustus himself is surrounded by members of his contemporary family, including women and children, something very rare on public monuments.³¹ The family group is large, consisting of over twenty figures. The array of them express the same things in human terms as the rampant vegetation below them – peace brought prosperity, Augustus provided them both, and, in particular, his laws encouraging marriage and childrearing were working.³² Although a few figures may have individualized portraits, most have idealized, classical faces, and can only be tentatively identified through their relative positions, gestures, and dress. Great scholarly effort has been expended trying to

31 See especially Natalie Boymel Kampen, "Between Public and Private: Women as Historical Subjects in Roman Art," in *Women's History and Ancient History*, ed. Sarah B. Pomeroy (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1991), 218–48, and Chapter 2, above.

32 Diana E. E. Kleiner, "The Great Friezes of the Ara Pacis Augustae: Greek Sources, Roman Derivatives, and Augustan Social Policy," *Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'Histoire de l'École Française de Rome. Antiquité* 90 (1978): 767–73.



(a)



(b)

Figure 5.6 Procession scene on the south side of the Ara Pacis Augustae. Augustus is the fragmentary figure on the far left, shown with head covered and arm outstretched over a missing altar. Agrippa is the male figure at the far right of image (a) and the far left of image (b). Next to him is a boy whose clothing and hairstyle identify him in Roman iconography as an easterner, probably a prince from a Hellenistic monarchy. Photos Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Rome, 72.2400, 72.2403.

accomplish such identifications,³³ but the lack of individualized portraits effectively gives the group an artificial family resemblance; even though many of them were not genetically related, the members of Augustus' household on the altar share an idealized Julian "look." What is thus most stressed is the group entity of the family itself, and the role of Augustus as its *pater*.

Moreover, even dependent allies of the Roman state are depicted here as members of the family. As noted, most of the figures in the procession have a distinct "look" – they are made to have a family resemblance to the idealized classical portrait favored by Augustus. However, two sets of figures are different in appearance and dress.³⁴ On the north side, between the state priests and Augustus' relatives, stands a pudgy toddler, wearing a sleeveless tunic, thick torque, and other jewelry, who turns to the figure next to him in such a manner as to expose his bare behind. His undignified pose and lack of a *bullā*, a Roman child's protective amulet, distinguish him from the other children. Moreover, his dress, hairstyle, and pose bear a striking resemblance to the Gallic children Drusus is shown presenting to Augustus on one of the Boscoreale cups and on coins of 8–7 B.C.E.³⁵ Meanwhile, in precisely the same spot on the south side, a small boy stands out as different from the other figures. Kuttner has identified this as a child from an eastern monarchy by his distinctive features and dress.³⁶

Both the Gallic baby and the eastern child visually represent imperial benefaction. The leaders of Gaul gave their children to Augustus through his stepson Drusus to be raised like Romans, and Augustus' relatives had many connections with the families of the Hellenistic client kings. As the altar celebrates Augustus' return from Gaul and Agrippa's from the east, in these happy "visitors" we can see their success in pacifying the empire and maintaining Roman dominion.³⁷ On the Ara Pacis, the Roman empire from Asia to Gaul is thus presented as dependants of Augustus' family, and international relations are shown to be within the purview of his house. The role of *pater* over this family thus connotes a distinctly paternal relationship to Rome, and on its behalf Augustus is shown perpetually in the process of interacting with the gods and ensuring the continuation of the *pax deorum*.

33 Debate and controversy, rather than consensus, still prevail. See especially Rose, *Dynastic Commemoration*, 103–4; Torelli, *Typology*, 47–54; J. Pollini, "Ahenobarbi, Appuleii, and Some Others on the Ara Pacis," *American Journal of Archaeology* 90 (1986): 453–60; Syme, *Augustan Aristocracy*, 151–2 and R. R. Holloway, "Who's Who on the Ara Pacis?," *Studi e Materiali (Studi in onore di Achille Adriani)* 6 (1984): 625–8.

34 First noted by E. Simon, *Augustus: Kunst und Leben in Rom um die Zeitenwende* (Munich: Hirmer, 1986), 74, but argued most thoroughly by Charles Brian Rose, "Princes and Barbarians on the Ara Pacis," *American Journal of Archaeology* 94 (1990): 453–67 and Kuttner, *Boscoreale Cups*, 100–6.

35 Kuttner, *Boscoreale Cups*, 99–101, 107–11; RIC 346.

36 *Boscoreale Cups*, 102–5.

37 Kuttner, *Boscoreale Cups*, 105.

Finally, we should also notice that despite the elaborate presentation of Augustus' family, no clear heir is highlighted in the procession scene. The monument is thus about dynasty only in a vague and generalized way. The presence of so many members of Augustus' private family serves a variety of purposes, including illustrating the success of Augustus' marriage legislation and his exemplary paternity. Even so, the altar forms a new and notable public presentation of these relatives, who are celebrated and individually depicted on a public monument. Moreover, they do not just abstractly represent the private sphere, as the choruses of boys, maidens, and matrons had done at the *Ludi Saeculares*. The individual members of Augustus' large family act as guarantors of the *Pax Augusta*; visually, they and a set of priests represent Rome on this altar. The children and young men would grow into the generals who ensured Roman domination; the women legitimately produced those babies and generals. One of the children might even take up Augustus' position, as he had taken up Aeneas'. This is how Ovid interprets the monument in his *Fasti*, written about a decade later:

Ipsum nos carmen deduxit Pacis ad aram.
 Haec erit a mensis fine secunda dies.
 Frontibus Actiacis comptos redimita capillos,
 Pax, ades et toto mitis in orbe mane.
 Dum desint hostes, desit quoque causa triumphi:
 tu ducibus bello gloria maior eris.
 Sola gerat miles, quibus arma coerceat, arma,
 canteturque fero nil nisi pompa tuba.
 Horreat Aeneadas et primus et ultimus orbis:
 si qua parum Romam terra timebat, amet.
 Tura, sacerdotes, pacalibus addite flammis,
 albaque perfusa victima fronte cadat,
 utque domus, quae praestat eam, cum pace perennet
 ad pia propensos vota rogate deos.

The song has led us to the Altar of Peace.
 This will be the second day from the end of the month.
 Your elegant tresses crowned with Actian laurels,
 Pax, come and remain gentle over the whole world.
 At that time, let enemies be far, and also let reason for triumph be far:
 You will be a greater glory to our leaders than war.
 May the soldier take up only the arms by which he may limit arms,
 and may the fierce trumpet sing for nothing but fanfare.
 First and last may the world shudder at the sons of Aeneas:
 and if any land used to fear Rome too little, may it love Rome now.
 Priests, add incense to the flames of peace,
 let the white victim, with anointed brow, fall,

and ask the gods that the house, which is responsible for Her,
endure with Peace, as you put forth pious prayers.³⁸

Thus, we do see a distinct step here toward the development of an imperial family. Although no heir is designated on the altar, the religious center of Rome is located in Augustus' house, while his relatives help guarantee the success of Rome in the world. We shall see in the succeeding years even more ways in which Augustus' family and its individual members participated in government by taking responsibility for state cult.

IMPERIAL CULT: FROM HELLENISTIC TO HOUSEHOLD GODS

Scholars generally recognize the official and direct worship of Augustus as a divinity as a provincial phenomenon.³⁹ His cultivation as a god developed in the eastern empire out of native and Hellenistic traditions.⁴⁰ Moreover, Simon Price has explained this phenomenon of the early imperial period as a social and spiritual way for the cities and people of the Hellenized east to construct their conceptual relationship to the new figure of the Roman emperor.⁴¹ As the imperial cult thus provided a useful language of power and form of relationship between ruler and subject, Augustus actively transplanted it to the western half of the empire.⁴²

In the beginning of this section we will investigate more closely certain aspects of this important phenomenon in the development of the empire. In particular, we will look at how Augustus was not honored in this way alone, but how members of his family were included in these developing cult forms. Thus, not only was an emperor being formulated in terms of imperial cult, but also a role for his family in the empire. Moreover, men of Augustus' family were instrumental in the active creation of the cult in the west.

Different cultural traditions, however, and a different relationship with power existed for the inhabitants of Italy and Rome. More specifically as well, although the motivations of the assassins of Julius Caesar are still debated, certainly among his more controversial acts were steps toward divinization during his own lifetime.⁴³ Although some evidence exists for private and

38 1.709–22.

39 Dio 51.20.8; Fishwick, *Imperial Cult*, I:90; Beard, North, and Price, *Religions of Rome*, I:318, 348–50.

40 Simon Price, *Rituals and Power. The Roman Imperial Cult in Asia Minor* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 25–52; Fishwick, *Imperial Cult*, I:3–55; Christian Habicht, *Gottmenschen und griechische Städte*, 2nd edn (Munich: Beck, 1970).

41 *Rituals and Power*, 7–11, 234–48.

42 Fishwick, *Imperial Cult*, I:92, 97–149; Beard, North, and Price, *Religions of Rome*, I:349.

43 Fishwick, *Imperial Cult*, I:56–72; Weinstock, *Divus Julius*, 270–317.

municipal celebration of the emperor as a deity,⁴⁴ in the context of Augustus' restoration of Roman cultural and political traditions, the type of official imperial cult which developed and proved satisfying in the provinces was not an option in Rome.⁴⁵

Instead, the inhabitants of Italy in general and Rome in particular constructed the role of Augustus out of the cultural model of the family. As we saw on the Ara Pacis, by 9 B.C.E. Augustus' special responsibility for Rome's relationship with the gods was being presented on the analogy of the father's spiritual responsibility for his family. The other side of Roman family cult – the worship of the *genius* of the father by members of his household – was not long in following. We can see early stages of this process in the variety of ways people outside of Augustus' family included him in their own family practices, or themselves celebrated his family's rites. Individuals and groups worked out their relationship to Augustus by honoring him spiritually as a *pater*. Finally, in 7 B.C.E., Augustus himself instituted a neighborhood cult based on these family models that became a foundation for imperial cult in Italy.

The Hellenistic east

The Hellenistic kingdoms which arose in the wake of Alexander developed elaborate forms of ruler worship.⁴⁶ In turn, as representatives of the Roman state became active in the eastern Mediterranean, they received altars, temples, sacrifices, priests, and games much in the way of the Hellenistic rulers.⁴⁷ Once one Roman – Augustus – came into an apparently permanent leadership position, eastern divine cult naturally focused on him, and worship of other generals or administrators ceased.⁴⁸ The resulting cult of Augustus flourished across the eastern provinces.

In a detailed study of this form of cult in Asia Minor, Simon Price argues that the worship of the Roman emperor as a god served “as one way of creating and defining a relationship between subject and ruler. The imperial cult was another way by which the emperor was constructed.”⁴⁹ In the context of this

44 J. M. Santero, “The ‘*Cultores Augusti*’ and the Private Worship of the Roman Emperor,” *Arbenaum* 61 (1983): 111–25.

45 Fishwick, *Imperial Cult*, I:83; Galinsky, *Augustan Culture*, 330.

46 For bibliography, see Fishwick, *Imperial Cult*, I:11–20 and Peter Herz, “Hellenistische Könige. Zwischen griechischen Vorstellungen vom Königtum und Vorstellungen ihrer einheimischen Untertanen,” in *Subject and Ruler: The Cult of the Ruling Power in Classical Antiquity*, ed. Alastair Small (Ann Arbor: Journal of Roman Archaeology, 1996), 27–40.

47 See M. P. Nilsson, *Geschichte der griechischen Religion* (Munich: Beck, 1974), 178–80; Weinstock, *Divus Julius*, 288–90; Fishwick, *Imperial Cult*, I:46–55 and Suetonius *Augustus* 52.1.

48 Habicht, *Gottmenschentum*, 64. The last-known nonimperial case is the *Kensorinea* celebrated at Mylasa after the death of C. Marcius Censorinus, proconsul of Asia in 2–3 C.E.; Fishwick, *Imperial Cult*, I:48.

49 *Rituals and Power*, 242.

study, I would argue with Price's intriguing conclusions in one way. Cult did not define an imperial role for Augustus alone – many members of his house were also so worshiped. Eastern cities and citizens recognized not only sons and potential heirs of Augustus as gods, but even his sister, daughter, and wife. Thus, from an early stage in the symbolic and cognitive construct of eastern imperial cult, the empire was headed not just by an emperor, but by an imperial family.

As early as 29 B.C.E., provincial Romans obtained permission to build a temple to Roma and the dead and deified Julius Caesar in Asia and Bithynia, while the Greek provincial assemblies there were allowed to consecrate precincts to Roma and Augustus.⁵⁰ Many of the excavated remains of these and similar areas, however, also include statues of Livia along with Augustus.⁵¹ Inscriptions also attest to her inclusion in cult, such as a long text from Lesbos which mentions a *temenos* and *naos* to Livia, a *temenos* and *naos* to the "sons of Augustus," and a *naos* to Augustus himself.⁵² The imperial cult at Pergamum also celebrated Livia's birthday as part of the festivities for Augustus' *natalis*.⁵³

Some eastern provincials honored the entire house of Augustus in the organization of their calendar. In 9 B.C.E., the province of Asia restarted its calendar to begin on Augustus' birthday.⁵⁴ Surviving records of the calendar of Cyprus, however, reflect this type of honor for his entire house. Dated about 15 B.C.E., the calendar not only began the year with Augustus' birthday and a month named after him, it continued the year with the months Agrippaios (Agrippa), Libaios (Livia), Octabaios (Octavia), probably Julaios (Julia), Neronaios (Tiberius), Drousaaios (Drusus), Aphrodisios (Aphrodite/Venus), Anchisaaios (Anchises, father of Aeneas), Romaaios (Roma), Aeneadaaios (Aeneas), and Capitolios.⁵⁵ The Cypriots thus honored the male and female, human and divine family of Augustus.

The independent coinages of the eastern part of the empire provide another useful source of information. They are frequently discussed in the context of their widespread and voluntary assumption of a portrait of Octavian/Augustus very early in his sole reign.⁵⁶ Coin-producers also showed appreciation and

50 Tacitus *Annals* 4.37, Dio 51.20.6–8; on the Greek worship of Roma, see especially Ronald Mellor, *Thea Roma. The Worship of the Goddess Roma in the Greek World* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1975).

51 J. Inan and E. Rosenbaum, *Römische und frühbyzantinische Porträt Plastik aus der Türkei: neue Funde* (Mainz am Rhein: von Zabern, 1979), nos. 3, 5 and Gertrude Grether, "Livia and the Roman Imperial Cult," *American Journal of Philology* 67 (1946): 230.

52 IG 12 Supplementum 124; cf. SEG 26.1269.

53 M. Fraenkel, *Inschriften von Pergamon* (Berlin: W. Spemann, 1890–5), II, nos. 374 B12, C9, D and Grether, "Livia and Cult," 230. The inscription was carved in the period of Hadrian, however, so the date of Livia's inclusion in the cult is uncertain.

54 OGIS 458.

55 *Codex Parisinus* 2420; Kenneth Scott, "Greek and Roman Honorific Months," *Yale Classical Studies* 2 (1931): 207–12.

56 Cf. Fergus Millar, "State and Subject: The Impact of Monarchy," in *Caesar Augustus: Seven Aspects*, eds Fergus Millar and Erich Segal (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984), 44.

homage to Rome and its new government by depicting members of Augustus' family, often in the form of gods. For example, coins from Pergamum show Livia in the guise of Hera and Demeter and Julia as Aphrodite.⁵⁷ Portraits of the emperor's wife were simply labeled "Thea Livia," "Goddess Livia," on the coins of Clazomenae and of Methymna on Lesbos.⁵⁸

Inscriptions and dedications also honored individuals of Augustus' house with divine names. A Pergamene example again calls Livia Hera.⁵⁹ Others show awareness of the divine associations of the family in Rome. In Athens, Julia and Livia seem to have shared a priestess with Hestia (Vesta).⁶⁰ Julia was also identified as Venus Genetrix in Eresus on Lesbos,⁶¹ while Gaius Caesar was called the new Ares (Mars) in an inscription at the Theater of Dionysius at Athens.⁶²

In a longer dedication at Thasos, the people honor "Livia Drusilla, wife of Augustus, goddess and benefactor, Julia, daughter of Augustus, benefactor through her ancestors," and "Julia, daughter of Marcus Agrippa."⁶³ A Sicilian dedication was also made "Liviae Deae," "to the Goddess Livia."⁶⁴ Finally, men of Augustus' household were honored likewise: "To Gaius Caesar and to Lucius Caesar, the children of Augustus Caesar, the God . . . and to Marcus Agrippa, God, savior and founder of the city, and to the child Marcus Agrippa, grandson of Augustus."⁶⁵ We also hear of games celebrated for members of Augustus' family. For example, Chalcis celebrated the "Lividea."⁶⁶ Triennial games were held in Egypt for the "Goddess Livia" and others whose names are lost.⁶⁷ And, in 2 B.C.E., Messene held games for Caesar, Augustus, and Gaius.⁶⁸

Finally, we have some longer dedications which honor Augustus' relatives, but not explicitly as gods. An example from Thespieae, inscribed between 17 and 12 B.C.E., commends to the Muses Agrippina, "the daughter of Marcus Agrippa," Agrippa himself, Lucius Caesar, Gaius Caesar, Julia, "the daughter of *Imperator* Caesar Augustus and wife of Marcus Agrippa," and Livia.⁶⁹ Another of 4–3 B.C.E. seems to be a private dedication of Mazaeus and Mithridates to Augustus, Livia, Agrippa, and Julia, whom the dedicators identify collectively as their "patrons" in Latin and in Greek.⁷⁰

57 BMC Mysia no. 348, pls. 28.6–7.

58 BMC Ionia no. 118.

59 IGR 4.319.

60 Grether, "Livia and Cult," 230.

61 CIL 3.7156–7.

62 EJ 64. For the associations of Augustus with Mars, see below, Chapter 7.

63 ILS 8784.

64 CIL 10.7464.

65 EJ 67, found at Mytilene.

66 Grether, "Livia and Cult," 232.

67 P. *Oxyrhynchos* 18.2105.4; Grether, "Livia and Cult," 232.

68 SEG 23.206; cf. R.K. Sherk, *Roman Documents from the Greek East. Senatus Consulta and Epistulae to the Age of Augustus* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1969), no. 14.

69 BCH 1926:447.

70 ILS 8897; cf. EJ 62.

In sum, although Hellenistic cities and citizens made many more dedications to Augustus alone than to his family or its individual members, his household did play a role in this important phenomenon of the eastern empire. Recognition of the royal family was part of the traditional honors of the Hellenistic kings,⁷¹ but among Roman women so honored, cases became much more common under Augustus.⁷² In shaping out of cult and ritual a relationship between themselves and the new leader of Rome, easterners recognized the rising importance of that leader's family as a quasi-political unit of the Roman imperial state. Moreover, in some cases particularly, dedicators may have responded to the power increasingly being exercised by individual members of that family.

The western empire

Fundamental cultural, historical, and political traditions divided the ancient eastern from the western Mediterranean; even the process of their respective absorption into the Roman empire differed. In the context of our current discussion, scholars have found little or no evidence for preexisting ruler worship in the west.⁷³ Because the west had no precedents for the worship of a particular, living ruler as a divinity, nor the administrative machinery of the Greek assemblies, large-scale imperial cult for the most part did not develop there of its own accord. Over time, however, as the provincial cults of the east became well established and were seen to be useful in a variety of ways, Augustus deliberately transplanted them to the west. His family was instrumental in this process, for many of the altars and cults of Augustus on the western frontiers were founded by his male relatives serving in the area as military commanders.⁷⁴ In addition, individuals and communities sometimes adapted forms of imperial cult found in Italy and other regions of the empire.

The altar to Roma and Augustus near Lugdunum is our best-known and most illustrative example of centrally imposed cult. In 12 B.C.E., Augustus' stepson Drusus called together at Lugdunum the local leaders of the three Gallic provinces and founded an altar at the confluence of the Rhone and Saône rivers. An annual priesthood was created, to which one C. Julius Vercondaridubno, an Aeduan and a Roman citizen, was named. The priest then oversaw the annual festival, held on the altar's foundation date, the Kalends of August.⁷⁵

Coin images show that the altar was decorated with the *corona civica* and laurel branches, and was flanked by two winged statues of Victory holding palm

71 Grether, "Livia and Cult," 224.

72 Cf. Flory, "Livia," 291.

73 Fishwick, *Imperial Cult*, I:93.

74 For an overview of this phenomenon, see Beard, North, and Price, *Religions of Rome*, I:352–3.

75 The three main sources are Livy *Periocha* 139, Suetonius *Claudius* 2.1 and Dio 54.32.1; however, they do not concur on all points. For a full analysis, see Fishwick, *Imperial Cult*, I:97–9.

branches and perched on columns⁷⁶ – standard Augustan iconography recalling his personal honors on becoming Augustus in 27 B.C.E. The altar was set on a large terrace and approached by monumental ramps from the east and west, and thus would have formed a dramatic stage for processions and cult offerings.⁷⁷ Finally, Strabo tells us that the names of sixty Gallic *civitates* were inscribed on the altar, and that a statue representing each of these tribes stood nearby.⁷⁸

The circumstances of the altar's foundation help reveal some of its purposes. Drusus, having commanded the Roman forces against the Sugambri on the Rhine, was distracted by an uprising to the south over the census before he could continue on against the Germans.⁷⁹ This crisis in his rear emphasized the need for united Gallic support, although the cult and altar had undoubtedly been planned earlier. Augustus had recently created the provinces of Belgica, Aquitania, and Lugdunensis during his visit to the region from 16 to 13 B.C.E. The cult format may have been suggested by Augustus' recent acceptance of the position of *pontifex maximus* in Rome; the coins from the Lugdunum mint depicting the altar emphasize this new office in their legends.⁸⁰

The religious nature of the cult aside, it created a federated administrative form spanning the three Gauls. Delegates from each of the sixty *civitates* would celebrate at the festival each year and attend to provincial business, including the election of their chief magistrate, the high priest.⁸¹ In turn, the shared focus of the group was worship of Augustus and the goddess Roma.

Drusus' central role in the creation of the cult came from his familial relationship to Augustus and his status as the highest-ranking military commander in the region. Significantly, we have references to similar cults elsewhere also founded by male relatives of Augustus, although we know few details about them. Thus, Cassiodorus states that while Drusus was consul (9 B.C.E.) he also founded a temple to Caesar among the Lingones in Gallia Belgica, although an inscription at Langres attests a priest of Augustus.⁸² L. Domitius Ahenobarbus, the husband of Augustus' niece Antonia Maior, built an altar to Augustus on the east bank of the Elbe c. 2 B.C.E.⁸³ The altar of the Ubii near modern Cologne, perhaps a federated German altar, is believed to

76 P. T. Kaufman, "Numismatic Evidence for the Extension of the Imperial Cult of Roma et Augustus in Tres Galliae," *Numismatic Circular* 85 (1977): 210–12, 299–302.

77 A. Audin, *Essai sur la topographie de Lugdunum*. 3rd edn (Lyon: Revue de géographie de Lyon, 1964), 148–60.

78 4.3.2. Tacitus records that there were sixty-four Gallic tribes; *Annals* 3.44. Four may have been added later; Fishwick, *Imperial Cult*, I:101.

79 Livy *Periocha* 139.

80 RIC 360.

81 See, for example, Quintilian *Oratorical Instruction* 6.3.79, Suetonius *Gaius* 20, and Tacitus *Annals* 11.23. For more see J. Deininger, *Die Provinziallandtage der römischen Kaiserzeit von Augustus bis zum Ende des dritten Jahrhunderts nach Christ* (Munich: Beck, 1965), 106.

82 *Chronicon* 385D, CIL 13.5688, 5679.

83 Dio 55.10a.2.

have been founded either by Drusus between 12 and 9 B.C.E. or by Tiberius in 8 or 7 B.C.E.⁸⁴

The military aspect of these cults should not be underestimated. Not only are they founded by generals, they are often located near winter camps. Moreover, a picture of the altar of the three Gauls is the only reverse image used on the bronze coins minted at Lugdunum from 12 B.C.E. until c. 14 C.E., that is, on the coins used to pay Roman soldiers on the western front. The western cult of Rome and Augustus thus had as an audience not only the local provincials, but also the soldiers on the frontier. Founded by their generals in the field and dedicated to the father of their generals' family, these cult forms add interestingly to the forms of fostering loyalty to Augustus and his house discussed in Chapter 4.

The only such monument known to have been built by a Roman official not of the imperial house was a set of three altars built in northwest Spain by one Sestius, probably between 22 and 19 B.C.E.⁸⁵ Once the young men of Augustus' house came of age, however, they began to act as the familial, military, and now religious representatives of Augustus. Although no members of the family besides Augustus himself seem to have been worshiped at these cult sites during his lifetime, unlike in the east, the role of his family in their foundations gave the Augustan house a place in this important phenomenon of the western empire.

Rome and Italy

The forms of imperial cult which developed in the eastern provinces and were transferred to the west did not fit Augustus' self-image in Rome and for Roman citizens; there was no space for the official worship of Augustus as a god in the restored *res publica*.⁸⁶ This may be reflected in Dio's account of tension over the Pantheon, which Agrippa completed in the Campus Martius in 25 B.C.E. Agrippa tried to name the new temple after Augustus, and Dio claims he originally included a statue of him inside the cella, along with other gods such as Venus and Mars. For one reason or another, however, Augustus "refused" the honor, his statue was set up in the porch instead, along with a statue of Agrippa, and the dead and deified Julius Caesar was commemorated in the cella.⁸⁷ The Pantheon tested contemporary boundaries and revealed tension over the deification of a living man.

Soon, however, other more acceptable means developed of associating

84 Tacitus *Annals* 1.58.2; Fishwick, *Imperial Cult*, I:138–9.

85 Ptolemy *Geography* 2.6.3, Pomponius Mela 3.13, Pliny *Natural History* 4.111. For details on the identification of Sestius and the debate over the foundation date see Fishwick, *Imperial Cult*, I:141–2.

86 Cf. Dio 51.20.8, Suetonius *Augustus* 52.

87 Dio 53.27.

Augustus and his family with divinity. Octavian and later Augustus repeatedly emphasized his relationship with his divine father, Julius Caesar. We have also explored Augustus' adoption of the state cult of Vesta into his own house in 12 B.C.E. In addition, the cults and gods of his household came to be publicly worshiped. Note, however, that although all of these phenomena marked a special status for Augustus, they did not create a relationship between the emperor and other Romans based on his divinity in the manner described for provincials.⁸⁸ Instead, they created the type of relationships found in a Roman family.

Festus details for us some of the distinctions between public and private cult usually recognized by the Romans:

Publica sacra, quae publico sumptu pro populo fiunt, quaeque pro montibus, pagis, curis, sacellis, at privata, quae pro singulis hominibus, familiis, gentibus fiunt.

There are public sacristies, which are done at public expense and on behalf of the people, and also for mountains, villages, wards and shrines, and private ones, which are done on behalf of individual people, families and clans.⁸⁹

Here, as in so many areas, we know much less about the private than the public side of Roman life. Occasional remarks in literary sources, linguistic analyses, and fairly abundant archeological remains do combine, however, to provide the general parameters of family cult.⁹⁰ By comparing these with certain phenomena of the Augustan period, we can see how this type of cult, practiced by and on behalf of Augustus' household, came to be celebrated not just by individuals outside of his family, but even at public expense and on behalf of the community and some of its constituent parts.

As noted earlier, family worship centered on the hearth and the shrine of the *Penates*, the *lares*, and the *genius* of the *pater*. The *Penates* and the hearth goddess Vesta were discussed earlier in the context of Augustus becoming *pontifex maximus*. The *lares*, in turn, were tutelary deities who watched over any

88 Beard, North, and Price, *Religions of Rome*, I:348–63, emphasize how different forms of imperial cult helped mark status differences among Rome's various subjects, such as here between provincials and Roman citizens.

89 Festus 284 in Lindsay, "Festus."

90 See Bakker, *Living with Gods*; Bömer and Herz, *Untersuchungen Religion*; and Wachsmuth, "Aspekte Hauskults." Linguistic studies include Pierre Boyancé, "Les pénates et l'ancienne religion romaine," *Revue des Études Anciennes* 54 (1952): 109–15 and Gerhard Radke, *Die Götter Italiens* (Münster: Aschendorff, 1965). For the archeological remains see George K. Boyce, "Corpus of the Lararia of Pompeii," *Memoirs of the American Academy at Rome* 14 (1937); Orr, "Roman Domestic Religion"; Fröhlich, *Lararien*; and Bakker, *Living with Gods*.

number of Roman things and places.⁹¹ The *Lar Familiaris*, later thought of usually as a pair of *Lares Familiares*, guarded a house and its inhabitants.⁹² Domestic shrines surviving in the cities buried by Vesuvius and at Delos,⁹³ as well as numerous bronze statuettes found all over the Roman world,⁹⁴ depict these deities as youthful dancers in short tunics, carrying *rhyta* and other sacred implements (Figure 5.7).

Inscriptions help associate these *lares* with worship of a *genius*.⁹⁵ The *genius* was the divine being born along with every male human.⁹⁶ A man's *genius* watched over him and especially his procreative force, that is his ability to perpetuate the *gens*,⁹⁷ and, as such, the *genius* of the *pater* protected his entire household and was a focus of family cult. Members of the *familia* swore oaths by and made appeals to the *genius* of their *pater*.⁹⁸ Pompeian and Herculanean house shrines depict this divinity as a togate and veiled man, usually holding a cornucopia and/or a *patera*, and standing between the *Lares Familiares* (Figure 5.7).⁹⁹

Although these household deities received cult at every meal,¹⁰⁰ on the Kalends, the Nones, and the Ides of each month, and on family anniversaries, the hearth was decorated with flowers and special offerings were made.¹⁰¹ The

91 For a summary of the research on their origins, see Orr, "Roman Domestic Religion," 1563–6. For *lares* of things other than the family, such as roads, games, and even the military, see Orr, "Roman Domestic Religion," 1566–7.

92 Plautus *Aulularia* 1–5, Tibullus 1.10.13–25, Ovid *Fasti* 5.129–46. The association was so close, "lar" or "lares" came to be used as a metonym for the household; Catullus 31.9, Vergil *Georgics* 3.344, Horace *Satires* 1.2.56, Martial 10.61.5, Lucan 2.331.

93 Orr, "Roman Domestic Religion," 1568–9; Philippe Bruneau, *Recherches sur les cultes de Délos à l'époque hellénistique et romaine* (Paris: E. de Boccard, 1970), 593–603.

94 Pannonia: E. B. Thomas, ed., *Römische Villen in Pannonien* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1964), 282–7; Austria: Robert Fleischer, *Die römischen Bronzen aus Österreich* (Mainz: P. von Zabern, 1967), 117–19; Germany: Heinz Menzel, *Die römischen Bronzen aus Deutschland* (Mainz: Verlag des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums, 1960), I:11–3; Britain: G. C. Boon, *Roman Silchester* (London: Parrish, 1957); Spain: Raymond Thouvenot, *Catalogue des figurines et objets de bronze du Musée Archéologique de Madrid* (Paris: E. de Boccard, 1927), I:50–2. These are discussed collectively by Orr, "Roman Domestic Religion," 1565, 1588–90.

95 *CIL* 10.861, 1235.

96 Horace *Epistles* 2.2.183–98. *Genii* also developed for places and groups of people; see Orr, "Roman Domestic Religion," 1571–5. The female counterpart seems to have been the *juno*; Petronius *Satyricon* 25, Pliny *Natural History* 2.16, Tibullus 4.6.1; Rives, "The Iuno feminae," 33–49, Emily Shields, *Juno: A Study in Early Roman Religion* (Northampton: Smith College Classical Studies 7, 1926), although sometimes women are said to have a *genius* also; *CIL* 11.1820, 8.22770.

97 In general, see Radke, *Götter*, 138–9; W. Kunckel, *Der römische Genius* (Heidelberg: Kerle, 1974); and Orr, "Roman Domestic Religion," 1569–75.

98 Tibullus 4.5.9, Plautus *Captives* 997, Terence *Andria* 289, Horace *Epistles* 1.7.94, Seneca *Epistles* 12.2; F. Bömer, "Der Eid beim Genius des Kaisers," *Athenaeum* 44 (1966): 77–133.

99 Bakker, *Living with Gods*, 9.

100 Pliny *Natural History* 28.27.

101 Cato *On Agriculture* 143.2.



Figure 5.7 Detail from shrine in the House of the Vettii, Pompeii (VI.15.1). The central figure is the *genius*, the divine twin of the master of the house, depicted as a togate man performing a ritual. The flanking figures in short tunics are *lares*, gods of place. Photo by Allan Kohl, Art Images for College Teaching, used by permission of the Italian Ministry for Cultural Heritage and Environment.

most common form of domestic offering was the *supplicatio ture ac vino*, the “thanksgiving with incense and wine.”¹⁰² But even though Tibullus states that sacrifices to the *genius* in particular were bloodless,¹⁰³ we also hear of domestic offerings of pigs and lambs.¹⁰⁴

The *lares* were also worshiped at the *compita*, cross-roads or other important property boundaries. Cato notes that the *vilicus*, or slave overseer of a farm, could perform religious rites only “at the *compitum* or before the hearth.”¹⁰⁵ A special annual festival was held at these shrines on the winter solstice,¹⁰⁶ during which the family hung on the *compita* a male or female puppet for each free member of the household and a ball for each slave.¹⁰⁷ This particular cult

102 RE 942; e.g., Plautus *Rudens* 23–7, Ovid *Tristia* 3.13.17.

103 1.7.49; cf. Censorinus *On the Birthday* 2.

104 Horace *Odes* 3.17.14, 4.11.6; Michel Hano, “À l’origine du culte impérial: les autels des Lares Augusti. Recherches sur les thèmes iconographiques et leur signification,” *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt* II.16.3 (1986): 2362.

105 *On Rustic Life* 5.3.

106 Cicero *Against Piso* 4.8–9, Dionysius of Halicarnassus *Roman Antiquities* 4.14.

107 Festus 108, 213, 272–3 in Lindsay, “Festus.”

of the *lares* thus helped bind together the various members of a Roman household, as well as draw attention to their status differences. All the members worshiped the spirit of the father of the household, and evidence suggests that even freedmen continued to honor their patrons in this familial way.¹⁰⁸

In addition to the *Compitalia* and other shared holidays, the most important of the feast days particular to any given family was the birthday of the *pater* and thus his *genius*, although other birthdays, weddings, the birth and coming-of-age of children, funerals, and major departures and homecomings were also important household festivals.¹⁰⁹ Moreover, we have several references to Romans marking their family calendars with the dates lucky or disastrous in their personal experience.¹¹⁰

Augustus' family had a sacred calendar such as this, and his *familia* worshiped their household gods and his *genius* at appropriate times. Unusual recognition of Augustus' *genius* outside of his own family, however, began to develop shortly after his victory in the civil wars. In 30 B.C.E., the senate voted that a libation be poured to him at all banquets public and private and that an official thanksgiving be held on his birthday.¹¹¹ This combination of a common household offering and a recognition of the feast day of his *genius* reveals the modeling of these honors on family cult.

A wall-painting in a Pompeian house may well depict the resulting entrance of Augustus' *genius* into the private home. One wall shows the familiar togate *genius* of a *pater* pouring a libation at a family shrine, while an adjoining wall shows another toga-clad *genius*, holding a cornucopia and labeled *ex SC*, "in accordance with a senatorial decree."¹¹² The latter is likely to be a depiction of Octavian Augustus' *genius*, and the painting is thus likely dated shortly after 30 B.C.E.¹¹³

Evidence for the continued practice of pouring a libation to the emperor's divine twin includes references in Horace and Petronius,¹¹⁴ a series of Pompeian painted slogans stating "Augusto feliciter," "for Augustus with good fortune,"¹¹⁵ and even cups decorated with this offering in mind.¹¹⁶ In turn, an ode of

108 *CIL* 2.1980; 5.1868; 6.257–9, 3684, 30883; 10.860–1; 11.356, 818, 6806; J. H. W. G. Liebeschuetz, *Continuity and Change in Roman Religion* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979), 71.

109 Harmon, "Family Festivals," 1978; Bakker, *Living with Gods*, 9.

110 Catullus 107.6, Horace *Odes* 1.36.10, Pliny *Natural History* 7.40, Petronius *Satyricon* 30.

111 Dio 51.19.2, 7, Ovid *Fasti* 2.637. For a discussion of the Dio passage and the conclusion that it refers to a libation to his *genius* and not to Augustus directly, see Fishwick, *Imperial Cult* II:1.375, n. 2.

112 *CIL* 4.5285.

113 August Mau, *Pompeii in Leben und Kunst*, 2nd edn (Leipzig: W. Engelmann, 1908), 278; Fishwick, *Imperial Cult*, II.1.376.

114 Horace *Epodes* 2.1.15–6; Petronius *Satyricon* 60.7.

115 *CIL* 4.427, 1084, 2460, 528, etc.

116 V. von Gonzenbach, "Genius Augusti–Theos Sebastos," *Opuscula. Stockholm Studies in Classical Archaeology* 5 (1968): 81–117.

Horace dated c. 14–13 B.C.E. mentions figurines of Augustus among private objects of worship, actual examples of which have been tentatively identified.¹¹⁷ Suetonius reports that the Roman *equites* as a group and other individuals celebrated Augustus' birthday of their own accord every year.¹¹⁸ Finally, swearing by the *genius* of Augustus, something also done by the *genius* of the father by members of a household, came into practice.¹¹⁹

Over time, many of Augustus' personal "lucky days" also came into state celebration. Annual holidays, *feriae*, were decreed not only for the days of his major victories, but also for anniversaries such as his award of the name Augustus, the establishment of the shrine of Vesta in his house, and even the birth of children in his family.¹²⁰ A senatorial decree declared his birthday a public festival.¹²¹

As Liebeschuetz has pointed out, people seem to have taken up these means of honoring Augustus through the recognition of his *genius* or celebration of his family calendar.¹²² We are therefore not just witnessing the successful imposition of a cult of Augustus' *genius* from above, whether by the senate or Augustus himself. For Romans of many sociopolitical classes, paying homage to the *genius* of Augustus was a means of marking his unusual personal good fortune and the tremendous social, political, and even physical changes occurring in Rome under his supervision. Honoring him as a spiritual *pater* was an acceptable means of understanding and articulating his unusual relationship to the community and his fellow citizens.

The full development of this trend, however, which culminated in Augustus' title *Pater Patriae*, "Father of the Fatherland," in 2 B.C.E., did not arise solely from the interest of his contemporaries. Augustus recognized and actively cultivated these tendencies in a variety of ways. For example, new and restored temples were dedicated judiciously. The "birthday" of each Roman shrine was its annual feast day, and these *natales* formed an important part of the state's religious calendar.¹²³ Of the sanctuaries restored between 28 B.C.E. and 17 C.E. whose dedication dates are known, about a quarter received new birthdays as part of this restoration.¹²⁴ Although some of the dedication dates were undoubtedly chosen for convenience or for other political or ideological reasons, many of the new feasts "coincidentally" fell on days important to

117 4.5.31–6; Wood, *Imperial Women*, 105–8.

118 *Augustus* 57.

119 Vergil *Georgics* 1.42; cf. Santero, "Cultores Augusti"; Bömer, "Eid beim Genius."

120 Dio 51.19.6, 59.20; Suetonius *Caligula* 23, *Fasti Praenestini*; etc.

121 *Fasti Pinciani*, *Fasti Fratrum Arvalium*.

122 *Continuity and Change*, 71.

123 Pierre Gros, *Aurea Templi. Recherches sur l'architecture religieuse de Rome à l'époque d'Auguste* (Rome: École Française de Rome, 1976), 31; G. Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus der Römer* (Munich: Beck, 1912), 56, 475; Guarducci, "Enea e Vesta," 104–9.

124 Gros, *Aurea Templi*, 32–3.

Augustus' family cult. Most prominently, seven of the thirty-five restored temples whose refoundation dates are known were dedicated on Augustus' birthday, September 23.¹²⁵

Other days significant to Augustus' family were also so celebrated. Although the monumental sundial erected in the Campus Martius was designed to point toward the Ara Pacis on Augustus' birthday, the altar itself was dedicated on January 30, Livia's birthday. Ovid confirms that the annual sacrifices associated with this shrine were held on this dedication day, not the anniversary of its foundation, July 4.¹²⁶ Thus, at state expense, the major priests and Vestal priestesses in effect celebrated Livia's birthday at the Ara Pacis every year.

The phenomenon of celebrating Augustus' major departures and homecomings should also be viewed in this light, as the important comings and goings of the *pater* had always been significant to private family cult. His first "return" after Actium came in the form of his three-day triumph in 29 B.C.E., and thus followed the traditional Roman custom of publicly celebrating a victorious general's official return. Afterwards, however, even when Augustus came back to Rome from military exploits, resulting celebrations took on much more religious overtones and increasingly included his family.¹²⁷ For example, when he returned from Greece in 19 B.C.E., an altar to Fortuna Redux, "Fortune Returned," was dedicated, and an annual holiday and games, called the *Augustalia*, were established to celebrate the day of his return.¹²⁸ Even though this was his return from recovering the Parthian standards, which was otherwise celebrated as a military victory, Augustus himself was welcomed into the city as its spiritual *pater*. The familially decorated Ara Pacis, discussed above, was vowed by the senate upon Augustus' safe return from Gaul in 13 B.C.E.

The most direct form of family cult imposed on the city, however, comes in the revived but restructured cult of the *Lares Compitales*.¹²⁹ As part of a detailed new administrative subdividing of the city in 7 B.C.E., Augustus reinstituted the traditional neighborhood cults of the *Lares Compitales*. In the turmoil of the late republic, these boundary shrines and their local associations had become

125 Gros, *Aurea Tempia*, 32–3. Notice that six of these were located near the Circus Flaminius, an area of the city which we have seen received special attention from Augustus (see above, Chapter 4). These are the Aedes Apollonis in circo, Jovis Statoris in porticu Octaviae, Martis in circo, Neptuni in circo, and Junonis Reginae in porticu Octaviae. The Aedes Felicitatis in campo was also dedicated on September 23.

126 *Fasti* 1.709–10.

127 For triumphs refused on such occasions, see Dio 53.26.5, *Res Gestae* 4. For accounts of his habit of returning to the city at night to avoid exciting the public, see Dio 54.10.4 and 54.25.4.

128 Dio 54.10.3, *Res Gestae* 11; Jean Gagé, *Res Gestae Divi Augusti* (Strasbourg: Publications de la Faculté des Lettres de l'Université de Strasbourg, 1935), 183.

129 See especially Beard, North, and Price, *Religions of Rome*, I:184–6.

organizing tools for civic unrest.¹³⁰ As such, the cults had been outlawed periodically, by the senate in 64 B.C.E., again by Caesar, and even by Augustus in 22 B.C.E.¹³¹ But Augustus eventually could not pass up the opportunity to employ a traditional religious form with the potential for organizing local communities and for articulating his developing role in the city.

Therefore, in 7 B.C.E., when Augustus divided the city into fourteen regions and 265 wards, each of the wards, or *vici*, was locally organized around a boundary shrine of the *Lares Compitales*.¹³² A public fire station was established for every two urban regions, and the magistrates of the *vici* seem also to have had fire-prevention and neighborhood-watch duties as well as responsibility for the cult.¹³³ In many ways these *vicomagistri* were thus low end bureaucrats in a new form of civic administration. The cults, however, provided a focal point for the new neighborhood associations and thus the most important opportunities for the local magistrates to promote themselves. Interestingly, the associated altars were dedicated "Laribus Augustis et Genio Caesaris," "to the August Lares and the *genius* of Caesar [Augustus]." ¹³⁴

The new cult was patently modeled on the household worship of the *lares* and the *genius* of the *pater*. The imagery and iconography of the handful of these altars surviving from the Augustan period¹³⁵ closely resemble those of the household shrines of Pompeii, Herculaneum, and the Roman colony on Delos.¹³⁶ The *Lares Augusti* are depicted as the same youthful dancers with short tunics, and the *genius* figure, although only rarely appearing, is a toga-clad man, shown with head veiled and holding a cornucopia and/or *patera* in the process of conducting cult (Figure 5.8).

Other images on the new compital altars reinforce the association with Augustus. Laurel branches were carved onto all but two of the seventeen altars of the *Lares Augusti* catalogued by Hano.¹³⁷ The Augustan reference of this image is confirmed by their association on four of them with a depiction of the

130 Cf. Andrew Lintott, *Violence in Republican Rome* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968), 77–83; Treggiari, *Roman Freedmen*, 198.

131 Suetonius *Divus Julius* 42, Suetonius *Augustus* 32.1, Dio 54.2.3.

132 Pliny *Natural History* 3.66, Ovid *Fasti* 5.143–8, *CIL* 11.3200 = *ILS* 89; K. Niebling, "Laribus Augustis magistri primi. Der Beginn des Compitalkultes der Lares und des Genius Augusti," *Historia* 5 (1956): 303–31.

133 Dio 55.8.6–7, Suetonius *Augustus* 30.1.

134 *CIL* 6.445–59, 30957–62; 2.1133, 4293, 4297; 3.5158; Hano, "L'origine du culte"; cf. Ovid *Letters from Pontus* 3.1.161–3, Propertius 2.22.13–14.

135 Usefully catalogued and discussed by Hano, "L'origine du culte," but now see also Heidi Hänlein Schäfer, "Die Ikonographie des Genius Augusti im Kompital- und Hauskult der frühen Kaiserzeit," in *Subject and Ruler: The Cult of the Ruling Power in Classical Antiquity*, ed. Alastair Small (Ann Arbor: *Journal of Roman Archaeology*, 1996), 73–98.

136 Hano, "L'origine du culte," 2355–8, 2364.

137 "L'origine du culte," table.



Figure 5.8 Altar of the Vicomagistri showing two *lares* flanking laurel branches, symbolizing the doorway to Augustus' Palatine house. Next to them stands the toga-clad *genius* of Augustus. The inscription above begins *LARIBUS AUGUSTIS*, "to the August *Lares*." Another side of the altar depicts the *vicomagistri* priests conducting a sacrament. Rome, Vatican Museums. Museum neg. XXI.25.13.

corona civica, also among Augustus' special awards of 27 B.C.E.¹³⁸ The use of the epithet "augustus" for the gods is not unprecedented; we have an inscription of 59 B.C.E. to an "August Lar."¹³⁹ After Octavian's adoption of the sacralizing name in 27 B.C.E., however, any use of the adjective created an association with the man, and in fact many deities came to be known as "August."¹⁴⁰

In turn, the nature and representation of the rituals depicted on our altars point back to family cult. Most of the altars of the August *Lares* show a scene of a togate figure pouring a wine libation – an offering and an image familiar from domestic cult and Pompeian paintings of them.¹⁴¹ In its sacrifice scene

138 *Res Gestae* 34.2; Hano, "L'origine du culte," table.

139 *CIL* 5.4087.

140 Fishwick, *Imperial Cult*, I:86–7; J. Rufus Fears, "The Cult of Virtues and Roman Imperial Ideology," *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt* II:17.2 (1981): 884–91.

141 Hano, "L'origine du culte," 2361, 2364.

the altar of the *vicus Aesculetus* also shows a pig, the usual victim at special festivals of the *lares*.¹⁴²

One aspect of the cult, however, marks a step away from family cults of the *genius*. Although traditional *genius* offerings were bloodless, sacrifice scenes on four of the compital altars include a bull.¹⁴³ Not only does the blood sacrifice mark an elevated and unusual status for the cult, but bulls in particular were the usual offering to the god Mars, the father of Romulus.¹⁴⁴ The inclusion of the sacrifice of this animal in what was otherwise a form of domestic cult underscores the convolution of family and state religious forms in the Augustan period and in the religious honors of Augustus in particular.

An investigation of the participants in this cult, however, best illuminates the dynamic interaction of public and private which it created. Study of the inscriptions has revealed that most of the *magistri* of the *Lares Augusti* in Rome were freedmen, and that they were assisted in their cult and administrative functions by slave *ministri*.¹⁴⁵ Recall, in turn, that at home slaves worshiped the *genius* of their masters, while numerous inscriptions attest to the continuation of this practice after manumission.¹⁴⁶ Thus, in a very direct way, the neighborhood cults of the August Lares and the Genius of Augustus celebrated the emperor as the *pater* of the city. Notice that during Augustus' lifetime they even took office annually on the first of August, the beginning of the month named in his honor and the anniversary of his capture of Alexandria and rise to sole power.¹⁴⁷

Recently scholars have focused on the social advantages the revived *lares* cult provided its priests. The magistracy of the *vicus*, like the priesthood of the *Augustales*, provided a needed political outlet for often wealthy but socially disadvantaged urban freedmen.¹⁴⁸ The *vicomagistri* wore ceremonial dress and were granted two lictors¹⁴⁹ – magisterial honors they frequently emphasized on the altars they erected. Their names were also recorded annually on *fasti* like those of the consuls and other city officials.¹⁵⁰ But by providing this cult and these offices for freedmen, Augustus not only created another distinct,

142 Hano, "L'origine du culte," 2361.

143 Hano, "L'origine du culte," 2362.

144 Lily Ross Taylor, *The Divinity of the Roman Emperor* (Middletown: American Philological Association, 1931), 203.

145 Bömer and Herz, *Untersuchungen Religion*, 37–52.

146 *CIL* 2.1980; 5.1868; 6.257–9, 3684, 30883; 10.860–1; 11.356, 818, 6806; Liebeschuetz, *Continuity and Change*, 71.

147 Alföldi, *Lorbeerbäume*, 23.

148 S. E. Ostrow, "The *Augustales* in the Augustan Scheme," in *Between Republic and Empire. Interpretations of Augustus and his Principate*, eds Kurt A. Raaflaub and Mark Toher (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), 364–79; R. Duthoy, "Les *Augustales*," *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt* II:16.2 (1986): 1254–1309.

149 Dio 55.8.7.

150 *Fasti Consulares*, 279.

honored, and constructive social order, he also made himself the explicit patron of that order. The form of the cult he created then continuously reiterated his paternal role. Moreover, by making himself in practice and in cult the *dominus* of Rome's freed elite, he competed with the patronage each of these men owed their former masters, their other *domini*. Finally, note as well that in their administrative duties the *vicomagistri* brought actual operations of the Roman family into governmental practice. After all, in introducing the use of freedmen to city administration, Augustus was in a very practical way managing the city in the way Romans managed their own households.¹⁵¹

In and after 7 B.C.E., dozens of these cults and altars sprang up all over Rome. Every inhabitant of the city would have had his or her neighborhood shrine to the *genius* of Augustus, which in some sense made his benefaction accessible to all. The cults thus provided a model form of interaction between Augustus and everyday Romans, and although this interaction occurred in a sacred context, the real model invoked to construct this relationship was that of a father to his *familia*. That elements of this cult of the *genius* were also taken up elsewhere confirms that it provided a useful way of understanding and commemorating Augustus' relationship to Rome and its people.

We can see the same phenomenon in other cults created or recreated in this period. The *Augustales* as priests and magistrates were very similar to the *vicomagistri*, but were found not just in Rome but in towns across Italy. These wealthy freedmen gradually formed a social and political class between the *plebs* and the local elite, the *decuriones*. Not only did they sponsor festivals, games, and even public buildings as part of their annual magistracies, their colleges were organized around the cult of the emperor.¹⁵²

We can see family cult becoming imperial cult in a different social class, however, in the form of the *Fratres Arvales*.¹⁵³ These had been a private group of twelve priests who "made public sacrifices so that the fields would bear fruit."¹⁵⁴ However, the cult had fallen into disuse until Augustus seized upon it as an opportunity to develop an aristocratic religious association for his own ends. Augustus thus became an Arval Brother himself, and many high-ranking members of the elite joined him.¹⁵⁵ Although they kept the traditional

151 For more examples of this expansion of Augustus' *familia* into government, see below, Chapter 6.

152 Galinsky, *Augustan Culture*, 310–12; Ostrow, "Augustales"; Duthoy, "Augustales." Andriek Abramenko, *Die munizipale Mittelschicht im kaiserzeitlichen Italien. Zu einem neuen Verständnis von Sevirat und Augustalität* (Frankfurt: P. Lang, 1993), followed by Beard, North, and Price, *Religions of Rome*, I:357–8, argues that the *Augustales* were local magistrates with some religious duties, rather than priests of the imperial cult.

153 For recent research and bibliography, see John Scheid, *Romulus et ses frères. Bibliothèque des Écoles Française d'Athènes et de Rome* 275 (1990): 117–71 and Beard, North, and Price, *Religions of Rome*, I:194–6.

154 Varro *On the Latin Language* 1.1.5.

155 *Res Gestae* 7; cf. Syme, *Augustan Aristocracy*, 211–12.

annual festival associated with the agricultural deity Dea Dia, the surviving records of their priesthood reveal a sacred calendar closely modeled on that of Augustus' private family.¹⁵⁶

Ovid's *Fasti* is another good example of imperial family cult among the upper social classes. Written during the first few years of the Common Era, the work celebrates both the Roman state and the family of Augustus by recording a sacred calendar in verse. The festivals and anniversaries included in the surviving books/months repeatedly underscore the growing identification of family and state cult.¹⁵⁷

Finally, the large number of official calendars preserved from Italian municipalities in this period reveal widespread contemporary interest in Roman cult. Over twenty such inscriptions survive from the Julio-Claudian dynasty, more calendars than from the middle of the first into the fourth century C.E.¹⁵⁸ At least five of these were apparently carved during Augustus' lifetime.¹⁵⁹ A quick survey of the types of days and ceremonies which one such document officially records emphasizes the Augustan and familial nature of the cult so promoted. The *Feriale Cumanum*, inscribed between 4 and 14 C.E.,¹⁶⁰ particularly celebrates, among other festivities:

January 7, "On the day on which Caesar [Augustus] first assumed the *fascēs*, a *supplicatio* to Jupiter Sempiternus."

January 16, "On the day on which Caesar was named Augustus, a *supplicatio* to Augustus."

March 6, "On the day on which Caesar was elected *pontifex maximus*, a *supplicatio* to Vesta and the public gods, the *Penates* of the citizens of Rome."

April 14, "On the day on which Caesar first achieved victory, a *supplicatio* to August Victory."

April 16, "On the day on which Caesar was first named *Imperator*, a *supplicatio* to *Felicitas Imperi* [Good Fortune of the Empire]."

156 *Fasti Fratrum Arvalium*; W. Henzen, *Acta Fratrum Arvalium* (Berlin: Georgio Reimeri, 1874); Ida Paladino, *Fratres Arvales. Storia di un collegio sacerdotale romano* (Rome: L'Erma di Bretschneider, 1988); Galinsky, *Augustan Culture*, 292–3; Beard, North, and Price, *Religions of Rome*, I:194–6.

157 For more on Ovid as a reflector and creator of imperial rhetoric and ideology, see below, Chapter 9.

158 Robert O. Fink, Allan S. Hoey, and Walter F. Snyder, "The *Feriale Duranum*," *Yale Classical Studies* 7 (1940): 28.

159 These are published and dated in II and include the *Fasti Pinciani* (47–9), the *Fasti Fratrum Arvalium* (29–46 = CIL 6.2023), the *Fasti Maffeiiani* (70–84), the *Feriale Cumanum* (278–80 = ILS 108), and the *Fasti Vallenses* (146–52).

160 ILS 108. Augustus is referred to as "Caesar" in the document, and never *divus*, which helps date the inscription to his lifetime. In turn, Tiberius, his son Drusus, and his nephew Germanicus also carry the *cognomen* "Caesar," indicating a date after their adoptions into Augustus' family in 4 C.E.

May 24, "The birthday of Germanicus Caesar, a *supplicatio* to Vesta."

A day between the 4th and 22nd of September, "On which the army of Lepidus gave itself over to Caesar."

September 23, "The birthday of Caesar, a sacrifice and *supplicatio* to Caesar."

October 7, "The birthday of Drusus Caesar, a *supplicatio* to Vesta."

October 18 or 19, "On the day on which Caesar took up the *toga virilis*, a *supplicatio* to *Spes* [Hope] and *Iuventus* [Youth]."

November 16, "The birthday of Tiberius Caesar, a *supplicatio* to Vesta."

A few observations are worth making. First, the form of cult offered on these anniversaries, the *supplicatio*, is taken from family and not public rites. Although the word is used to describe certain public thanksgiving ceremonies specially decreed to celebrate some victories during the republic, the *supplicatio* derives from the *supplicatio vino ac ture* given to the family *lares* and the *genius* of the *pater*. In the *Res Gestae*, Augustus notes the public celebration of both kinds of *supplicatio* in his honor, thus revealing that the change often noted between the republican and imperial state ceremonies occurred during his lifetime.¹⁶¹ Interestingly, not only did the *Fratres Arvales* also use the *supplicatio* ceremonial form,¹⁶² but Augustus encouraged individual senators to perform the rite before meetings of the senate.¹⁶³

Also of significance in the festival calendar of Cumae is the range of gods to whom these *supplicationes* are offered on imperial anniversaries. They include traditional deities, such as Jupiter, state gods now closely associated with Augustus' house, such as Vesta, and abstract deities connected to Augustus himself, such as August Victory. In turn, these various gods are worshiped on anniversaries of Augustus' political life, such as his first assumption of the *fascis* and appointment to be *pontifex maximus*, as well as days of personal and familial importance, like the birthdays of children and the anniversary of Augustus' own coming-of-age ceremony. The municipal sacred calendar thus interwove community and family gods, rituals and events.

Finally, we should note that evidence suggests this new form of festival calendar was incorporated into the ceremonies of the Roman military at this time as well. We have already noted the audience of Roman soldiers for the foundations of imperial cults by Drusus and others on the western frontier, as well as the evidence for the inclusion of images of the emperor and perhaps

161 *Res Gestae* 4 and 9.2; cf. *CIL* 14 Supplementum 5326, Pliny *Epistles* 10.96.5, 97.2. This change between the republican and imperial ceremony has been noted, for example, by Fink, Hoey, and Snyder, "Feriale Duranum," 193–9 and Gérard Freyburger, "La supplication d'action de grâce sous le Haut-Empire," *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt* II:16.2 (1978): 1418–39.

162 Henzen, *Acta Fratrum Arvalium*, 41–4.

163 Suetonius *Augustus* 35.3, *Tiberius* 70.3; Fink, Hoey, and Snyder, "Feriale Duranum," 195.

other members of his family in camp shrines. In addition, a late copy of the army's calendar of festivals suggests that celebration of the anniversaries of the emperor's family was formally added to military life under Augustus. The *Feriale Duranum*, although of third-century date, is "very Augustan in character" and retains events which had dropped out of popular celebration many years before, such as the celebration of the *natalis* of Julius Caesar.¹⁶⁴ Of the forty-one existing entries of the calendar, twenty-seven involve the anniversaries of the various emperors and their families since the time of Augustus.¹⁶⁵ The military cult of the empire was developed under the first emperor and on the model of family worship.

In conclusion, in lieu of the official worship of Augustus as a god which we find practiced by and even instituted for provincials, Italy and Rome worshiped state and Augustan deities in celebration of the days traditionally special to Augustus' family. These celebrations often used a form of offering, the *supplicatio*, taken from private cult. Municipalities performed these rites for the good of their community and to express their relationship to Rome via their relationship with Augustus. Similarly, colleges of priests, such as the *Fratres Arvales* and the *vicomagistri* of the August Lares, although serving other public functions, were organized around the worship of Augustus' *genius* and the celebration of his family calendar.

Festus would have been sorely tried to define these forms of cult as public or private. The results of these developing religious forms are clear, however — the family of Augustus became intertwined with the community, and a new concept of the state was constructed on the model of the *familia*, with Augustus as its *pater*.

LIVIA AND CONCORDIA

What were the roles played by Augustus' relatives in this new idea of the state? So far, we have seen the state cult of Vesta physically incorporated into private worship in their home. We have seen their inclusion in eastern imperial cult, and the active role some played in creating that cult in the west. Emphasis on Augustus' inheritance of his role as *pontifex maximus* from Caesar and Aeneas hinted that someone from his line would likely inherit it in turn. But on a more immediate and practical level, what was the role, for example, of the wife of the *pater* of Rome?

Interestingly, this question was also worked out at least in part in terms of cult during the middle Augustan period. Livia, in particular, was responsible for some creative activities in this area. In the last part of this chapter, we will

164 Fink, Hoey, and Snyder, "*Feriale Duranum*," especially 174, 184–5; Taylor, *Divinity*, 207.

165 Fink, Hoey, and Snyder, "*Feriale Duranum*," 173.

focus on her foundation of a shrine to Concordia, traditionally a highly political object of worship at Rome. The circumstances of Livia's cult of Concordia, as well as her sponsorship of other public cults in Rome, underscore the changing definitions of public and private, and illustrate how one woman of Augustus' family could use Roman religious institutions to carve out an unprecedentedly public role for herself.

When Vedius Pollio died in 15 B.C.E., he left to Augustus a number of properties, including a house on the Clivus Suburbanus in Rome, an area dominated by lavish private estates.¹⁶⁶ Dio reports that the large house was burned down, and a *porticus* named after Livia was erected in its place.¹⁶⁷ Other authors confirm that Tiberius and Livia dedicated this covered public walkway, which housed gardens and works of art, in January of 7 B.C.E. as part of the celebration of Tiberius' triumph.¹⁶⁸ In turn, Livia alone dedicated an *Aedes Concordiae Augustae*, "Shrine to August Concord," nearby, probably inside the portico, on June 11 of that year.¹⁶⁹ The conversion of Pollio's mansion into space for communal enjoyment fits with Augustus' condemnation of conspicuous private consumption by the aristocracy, while many elements recall more specifically the Porticus of Octavia and the associated theater named in honor of her son, Marcellus. Livia and Tiberius' complex also communicated that not just Augustus, but his family, was looking after the interests of the Roman people.

As for the shrine inside the portico, Ovid states explicitly that Livia built it to August Concord to celebrate her harmonious marriage to Augustus.¹⁷⁰ The history of the state cult of Concordia, however, complicates the picture, for it had a very specific and political aim in Rome – to heal a community suffering from civic discord. The first temple to this goddess was vowed by Camillus in 367 B.C.E. during conflict over the proposal that plebeians be allowed to hold the consulship.¹⁷¹ In 304, the curule aedile Cn. Flavius vowed a shrine to Concordia if the orders could be reconciled after the calendar days available for legal proceedings were first published – information traditionally hoarded by patrician magistrates. The *pontifex maximus* had to be forced by the people to give out the formula needed to dedicate the shrine.¹⁷² In 218 B.C.E., L. Manlius

166 Dio 54.23.1; A. M. Colini, "La Torre di Mecenate," *Rendiconti della Classe di Scienze Morali, Storiche e Filologiche dell'Accademia dei Lincei* 34 (1979): 243; Flory, "Sic Exemplar," 327.

167 54.23.6.

168 Pliny *Natural History* 14.11, Ovid *Art of Love* 1.71–2, Strabo 5.236, Dio 55.8.1.

169 Ovid *Fasti* 6.637–40. No physical traces of the *porticus* or shrine survive, but the outline of the portico has been located on the Severan marble plan. See G. Carettoni, A. M. Colini, L. Cozza, and G. Gatti, *La pianta marmorea di Roma antica* (Rome: Ripartizione del Comune di Roma, 1960), Table 18 and L. Richardson, Jr., "Concordia and Concordia Augusta. Rome and Pompeii," *La Parola del Passato* 33 (1978): 266–7.

170 *Fasti* 6.638.

171 Plutarch *Camillus* 42.2–3, Ovid *Fasti* 1.641–4. Even so, we have no evidence that a building was erected at this time.

172 Pliny *Natural History* 33.19, Livy 9.46.

vowed a temple to the goddess Concordia during a mutiny of his troops in Gaul.¹⁷³ Finally, in 121 B.C.E., the senate ordered L. Opimius to construct a temple to Concordia after the killing of C. Gracchus and many of his followers by fellow Romans.¹⁷⁴ Thereafter, the senate frequently met in this forum temple when issues of civic conflict were under discussion.¹⁷⁵ Born during the Struggle of the Orders, interest in the goddess Concordia revived during other episodes of civic unrest. Significantly, a shrine to Concordia Nova, "new concord," was decreed in honor of Julius Caesar in 44 B.C.E., shortly after the completion of his civil wars.¹⁷⁶ In Rome, Concordia was cultivated to repair internal political turmoil.

Marleen Boudreau Flory, however, has rightly pointed out that the Romans also used the word *concordia* when describing harmonious family relationships.¹⁷⁷ Both Cicero and Pliny hoped that marriages they were discussing would be full of *concordia*.¹⁷⁸ Descriptions of women's religious rites frequently include prayers for such family harmony.¹⁷⁹ Finally, the formulaic sentiments expressed on Roman epitaphs often remark on a married couple's *concors vita*, "harmonious life."¹⁸⁰ As Flory concludes:

The evidence of tombstones and literature and the role of Concordia in cults and celebrations centered on married life shows Concordia was a traditional ideal and aspect of marriage in Roman society . . . Livia did not develop a new aspect of Concordia; rather, she focused renewed attention on an old ideal.¹⁸¹

That Livia was aware of these aspects of Concordia when she dedicated her shrine in 7 B.C.E. is confirmed by the date on which she did so.¹⁸² June 11 was the Matralia, the *dies natalis* of the Temple of Mater Matuta and a festival celebrated by married women and *univirae*, widows who had only married once.¹⁸³ The rites focused on playing with and praying for children, especially

173 Livy 22.33.7–8.

174 Appian *Civil Wars* 1.3.26, Plutarch *C. Gracchus* 17.6.

175 For example, Cicero *Catiline* 3.21, *Sestius* 26, *On His House* 11, *Philippics* 2.19, Sallust *Catilinarian Conspiracy* 46, 49, Dio 58.11.4. For the archeological remains and research on these various shrines, see Richardson, *Topographical Dictionary*, 98–100. For a more nuanced reading of the politics of Concordia associated with these stories and buildings, see Barbara Levick, "Concordia at Rome," in *Scripta Nummaria Romana. Essays Presented to Humphrey Sutherland*, eds R. A. G. Carson and Colin M. Kraay (London: Spink and Son, 1978), 217–21.

176 Dio 44.4.5.

177 "Sic Exempla," 315–17.

178 Cicero *For Cluentius* 12, Pliny *Epistles* 4.19.5 cf. Tacitus *Agricola* 6.1.

179 Valerius Maximus 2.1.6–8, Ovid *Fasti* 2.631–2.

180 CIL 6.7579, 26926, 23137, *Laudatio Turiae*, left column, lines 27–30, etc.

181 "Sic Exempla," 317.

182 Flory, "Sic Exempla," 313–15.

183 Ovid *Fasti* 6.475–807.

nieces and nephews, and thus celebrated many roles of women in family life. The Temple of Fortuna Virgo shared this anniversary day and perhaps a temple complex with Mater Matuta in the *Forum Boarium*.¹⁸⁴ Inside this shrine girls made dedications to mark their passage to adulthood and preparation for marriage.¹⁸⁵ “Thus these two long-standing cults emphasized traditional female roles and marked important aspects of women’s lives: marriage, motherhood, childbearing, and the care and rearing of children,” even those not one’s own.¹⁸⁶

Livia’s dedication of a shrine to the *concordia* she shared with her husband in association with a *porticus* built by herself and her son confirms the family associations of this Concordia. However, the founding of a public cult of concord in a community space must have also evoked the long political history of Concordia at Rome. In the Augustan context we have been exploring, these were not mutually exclusive. Recall Augustus’ legislation encouraging marriage and childrearing and criminalizing adultery, passed about a decade earlier. Those laws were part of Augustus’ plan to restore the community’s moral health, the decay of which he and his contemporaries agreed had resulted in the civil wars. Augustan discourse thus argued that proper and productive family relations created a harmonious civic body – precisely the mix of familial and state *concordia* Livia sponsored in her shrine of 7 B.C.E. Private life had become a political issue, and we see in Livia’s shrine a redefinition of the cult of civic concord in line with these ideas.

Moreover, her relationship with such a political and yet familial concept helped Livia create a public role for herself. Even though this same Augustan discourse reasserted a firm line between male and female, public and private, Livia used her association with Augustus and the rising importance of family roles in official rhetoric to create a public status out of exemplary domesticity. A shrine to Concordia celebrating her marriage to Augustus, after all, also celebrated herself. By dedicating that shrine on Roman Mother’s Day in a portico she built with her son, she portrayed herself as the model Roman wife and mother – making herself a public figure while maintaining emphasis on traditional women’s roles in the terms of contemporary rhetoric.

Other known activities of Livia involving Roman cults confirm her active creation of this new form of public role. For example, Livia restored the Temple of the Bona Dea Subsaxana, imitating her husband in piously rebuilding aging cult centers.¹⁸⁷ The rites for this cult were “undertaken for the public benefit by chosen *matronae* under the direction of the Vestal Virgins.”¹⁸⁸ In addition,

184 Ovid *Fasti* 6.477–80, 569–70, Livy 25.7.6.

185 Ovid *Fasti* 6.569–636, Varro ap Non. 278L, Pliny *Natural History* 8.194, 197, Livy 24.47.15, 25.7.6.

186 Flory, “*Sic Exempla*,” 314.

187 Ovid *Fasti* 5.157–8; Richardson, *Topographical Dictionary*, 59–60.

188 Flory, “*Sic Exempla*,” 318; cf. Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus*, 686–94.

Palmer argues that she rebuilt the Temple of Pudicitia Plebeia, "Plebian Chastity," and of Pudicitia Patricia, "Patrician Chastity."¹⁸⁹

The associations of these cults are suggestive. When Livia rebuilt the Temple of the Bona Dea, she emphasized her relationship to the Vestals, and even put herself in a position of benefaction and leadership over them. The Vestals were the only Roman women regularly responsible for the health and well-being of the state: that is, with clearly defined public roles. The priestesses tended the state's hearth deities, and to mark their unusually public and unfamiliar role they remained unmarried and sexually chaste during their tenure – transgression of which was punished by death.¹⁹⁰ They had some unusual privileges as well, also extending from public status; Vestals could make wills while their fathers were still alive, they managed their own affairs without the guardians usually required of women, their retinue included magisterial lictors and *fascēs*, they had the right to pardon convicts, and they enjoyed personal sacrosanctity.¹⁹¹

The Vestals were thus natural precedents and companions for other female public figures, as the women of Augustus' house were coming to be. After all, the Vestals tended the sacred hearth of the community of Rome, which Livia now did in her own home. In addition, Livia sponsored appropriate female sexuality in the cults of *pudicitia*, and herself exemplified civic-minded matronhood. Ovid even referred to her as the "Vesta of chaste mothers."¹⁹² She was awarded personal sacrosanctity, a Vestal honor, as well as the status of having three children in accord with her husband's legislation.¹⁹³ Livia thus established herself as the fertile counterpart to the Vestal Virgins, and thereby shaped a public role for herself as a matron with responsibility for the well-being of the community.

Livia's restoration of the Temple of Fortuna Muliebris, "Womanly Fortune," may also help clarify her public aspirations.¹⁹⁴ In his work *Roman Antiquities*,

189 R. E. A. Palmer, "Roman Shrines of Female Chastity from the Caste Struggle to the Papacy of Innocent I," *Rivista Storica dell'Antichità* 4 (1974): 140.

190 Mary Beard, "The Sexual Status of Vestal Virgins," *Journal of Roman Studies* 70 (1980): 12–27, but cf. Mary Beard, "Re-reading (Vestal) Virginité," in *Women in Antiquity. New Assessments*, eds Richard Hawley and Barbara Levick (London: Routledge, 1995), 166–77.

191 Plutarch *Numa* 9–10.

192 *Letters from Pontus* 4.13.29, cf. Valerius Maximus 6.1. This association continued; after Augustus' death, Livia received the right to sit with the Vestals at public performances (Tacitus *Annals* 4.16.4), and, after her own deification, Claudius entrusted her cult to the Vestals (Dio 60.5.2).

193 Dio 49.38.1, 54.2.

194 Livia's role is adduced from the inscription *CIL* 6.883, reporting a reconstruction by "Livia Drusi f uxs[or Caesaris Augusti]," associated architectural remains and topographical considerations, including Valerius Maximus 1.8.4 and 5.2.1. See T. Ashby, "The Classical Topography of the Roman Campagna," *Papers of the British School at Rome* 4 (1907): 79 and Flory, "*Sic Exemplā*," 318 for more details.

which began to appear in 7 B.C.E., Dionysius of Halicarnassus describes the legendary origin of this cult: the senate built the temple in honor of the wife and mother of Coriolanus in the early fifth century B.C.E., because they had persuaded him not to attack Rome.¹⁹⁵ The enthusiasm with which Dionysius tells the story has suggested to modern scholars that the cult may have been of contemporary interest due to Livia's involvement.¹⁹⁶ I would argue, on the other hand, that Livia was interested in the cult because it honored the political action of two women. These unnamed women saved the state from civil war, helped found a temple, and became legendary figures while still acting in their familial capacities as wife and mother. In a sense, they provided the wife of the first emperor with a precedent and model for political participation by a woman.

The familial and religious nature of this public position for Livia had been suggested visually on the Ara Pacis earlier in 9 B.C.E. Livia, the prominent female figure next to the eastern child in the procession scene on the south side, is the only mortal in addition to Augustus to wear both a veil and a garland (Figure 5.6).¹⁹⁷ Not only does this associate her with her husband, the *pater* of the family so carefully constructed on the monument, this dress and her hairstyle echo those of the maternal personification in the panel on the east side of the altar screen (Figure 5.4). Thus, Wood and Bartman argue that Livia is assimilated to the divine figure of Pax/Venus/Italia, much the way in which the figure of Augustus is visually compared to Aeneas.¹⁹⁸ Moreover, "the garment drawn over Livia's head may well have been purple, the *tutulus* that identified her rank as a *materfamilias*."¹⁹⁹ Her symbolic importance as a guarantor of *pax* was reiterated in the dedication of the shrine on her birthday.²⁰⁰ Thus, if the Ara Pacis articulates a paternal role for Augustus over the community of Rome, Livia is presented in these same terms as his female counterpart, the *mater* of the state.

In the way that a matron was expected to model appropriate behavior for her daughters, part of Livia's developing public role was to serve as a model for others. Dio describes an incident in which Augustus, in the midst of a senatorial discussion of the disorderly conduct of young people, outright adduced himself and Livia as models of husbandly control and wifely

195 8.55–6; cf. Plutarch *Coriolanus* 57, Livy 2.40.11–12.

196 P. M. Martin, "La propagande augustéenne dans les *Antiquités Romaines* de Denys d'Halicarnasse," *Revue des Études Latines* 49 (1971): 162–79; Flory, "Sic Exempla," 318; Purcell, "Livia," 88–9.

197 Some controversy still surrounds this identification; see Bartman, *Portraits of Livia*, 88, and Rose, *Dynastic Commemoration*, 103–4.

198 Wood, *Imperial Women*, 99–102; Bartman, *Portraits of Livia*, 89–90.

199 Wood, *Imperial Women*, 100, drawing on Luigi Sensi, "Ornatus e status sociale delle donne romane," *Annali della Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia* ser. 7, *Studi Classici-Perugia* 18 (1980–1): 61–3, 73–4.

200 Ovid *Fasti* 1.709–10.

modesty.²⁰¹ Suetonius records the story that Livia, as well as Octavia and Julia, themselves spun the cloth for Augustus' clothing.²⁰² Contemporary literature ascribed to Livia the other virtues expected of the traditional and chaste Roman *matrona*. Ovid and Valerius Maximus laud her old-fashioned *pudicitia*, or chastity.²⁰³ Horace likens her modesty to that of the *univirae*.²⁰⁴ Velleius says she was "eminentissima et per omnia deis quam hominibus similior femina," "a most eminent woman and in all things more similar to the gods than to humans."²⁰⁵ These authors responded to and in turn helped create the official persona of Livia, the model Roman *mater*.

We even have evidence that Livia's public role extended beyond her status as the model matron and her sponsorship of cults celebrating marriage and motherhood. The wife of Augustus acted as the *mater* of the state in more practical ways, including funding the raising of children and providing dowries for impoverished brides.²⁰⁶ This became a standard part of the role of the wife of the *imperator*, and the alimentary programs of the second century extended from this paternal and maternal status of the imperial couple. In Egypt, marriage contracts included Livia's name in particular into the middle of the second century,²⁰⁷ and later brides and grooms came to make dedications at altars devoted to the emperor and empress.²⁰⁸ In the cults she sponsored, the public image she fostered, and in the charities she provided, Livia created the prototype for a suitably domestic and yet very public imperial wife.

Livia's shrine also began a long interaction of Augustus' house with Concordia. In 2 B.C.E., Augustus took the title *Pater Patriae*, which formalized his paternal relationship to the state, on February 5, the feast day of one of the Temples of Concordia.²⁰⁹ Later, between 10 and 12 C.E., when Tiberius restored the great Temple of Concordia in the forum, he rededicated it on a new day. January 16, interestingly, was the anniversary of Octavian's assumption of the name Augustus, and the day before the anniversary of his marriage to Livia.²¹⁰ Thus, over time many members of the imperial house used the

201 54.16; cf. Macrobius *Saturnalia* 2.5.6.

202 *Augustus* 73.

203 Ovid *Letters from Pontus* 3.1.114–16, Valerius Maximus *On Chastity* 6.1.

204 *Odes* 3.14.5.

205 2.130.5.

206 Dio 58.2.2–3. For more on Livia's public roles based on family duties, see below, Chapters 6 and 9.

207 U. Wilcken, "Ehepatronae im römischen Kaiserhaus," *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte* 30 (1909): 504–7.

208 Of Faustina and Marcus Aurelius and Antonius Pius and Faustina the Elder: Dio 71.3.1, *CIL* 14.5326. On the association of Concordia with other empresses, see Levick, "Concordia at Rome," 227–8.

209 *Fasti Praenestini*; Gagé, *Res Gestae*, 168.

210 Gagé, *Res Gestae*, 165. On the political overtones of Tiberius' restoration, see Levick, "Concordia at Rome," 224–6.

politically charged but also now familial concept of accord to define public roles for themselves out of family relationships. This process began with Livia in 7 B.C.E., when she built a shrine and portico to celebrate publicly herself, her son, and her marriage, and in so doing defined parameters of her responsibility for the civic community.

CONCLUSIONS

After becoming *pontifex maximus* in 12 B.C.E., Augustus began to present himself as the man uniquely responsible for Rome's relationship with the gods. He used the analogy of the religious role of the father in a family to express this responsibility. We find evidence for this in the imagery on the Ara Pacis, in Augustus' adoption of the state cult of Vesta into his own home, and in the new neighborhood cults of August Lares. Not surprisingly, this familial method of expression had implications for his actual family. On the Ara Pacis, they thus serve not only as evidence of but as individual guarantors of the August Peace. His male and female relatives were celebrated in eastern imperial cult, and his stepsons and sons helped found such cults in the west. Finally, Augustus' relatives could use this increasing public status of their house to create unusual positions for themselves, such as Livia's claim through the shrine to Concordia of 7 B.C.E. that the matron of the family of state had a public role as well. These religious contexts thus provided the first clear assertions of an imperial ideology and an imperial family.

Subsequent dynasties chose to redefine the public role of imperial women, and many emperors did not present themselves as fathers of the state. However, the sacred role of the emperor modeled on the roles of the Roman father continued. This is particularly evident in a standard iconographic scene of the emperor – sacrifice.²¹¹ This scene is not found in relief during the republic, but is extremely common in the empire. The emperor is always the focus of attention and presented as conducting the cult offering, although the work of the sacrifice is performed by slaves (Figure 5.9). The scene presents the emperor in his role as intermediary with the gods on behalf of the community; the image elegantly articulates the ideology of the imperial system of government on the religious plane. In this vision of society, power and responsibility for the empire flowed through one man, not a group of competing men. Critical early conceptions of this idea of a state came in the middle Augustan period with the creation of cults with an intriguing relationship to the religious traditions of the Roman family.

211 Richard Gordon, "The Veil of Power: Emperors, Sacrificers and Benefactors," in *Pagan Priests. Religion and Power in the Ancient World*, eds Mary Beard and John North (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1990), 201–19.



Figure 5.9 Sacrifice scene from the Arch of Trajan in Benevento, Italy, 114–18 C.E. The emperor stands on the right, head covered and arm outstretched over an altar, while the animal is sacrificed by slaves to the far left. Photo Alinari/Art Resource, New York, 11497.

THE *FAMILIA* OF AUGUSTUS

In this chapter, we shall monitor a different means by which Augustus' family became intertwined with public institutions. Although Augustus had restored the form of the republican government in 27 B.C.E. with great ceremony, even then many responsibilities were redistributed to him, such as control of most of the military and the administration of several provinces. Over time, more and more of the real administration of Rome fell to him. To a remarkable degree, this administration was managed using the procedures and personnel of an aristocratic household. The practice was functional and expedient, and helped Augustus develop and protect his oversight of items from community finances to international relations. The result, however, was a *de facto* overlap between Augustus' family and the managing institutions of the city and empire, with Augustus as the unquestioned *pater* of both.

FINANCES

Fiscal management provides a good illustration of this phenomenon. The republican state treasury, the *aerarium*, traditionally under senatorial control but administered by quaestors, had been seized for private use by Caesar in 49 B.C.E.¹ Its status under the triumvirate is difficult to establish, but Dio reports that in 28 Octavian canceled debts to the *aerarium*, so it probably existed in some form.² Although the administrators were changed periodically, from this point the *aerarium* survived as a community treasury into the later centuries of the empire.³ Moreover, we have no evidence that Augustus

1 Suetonius *Julius* 76, Dio 43.45.2.

2 53.2.3.

3 Augustus transferred it to the praetors in 23, who were replaced by quaestors under Claudius and *praefecti* by Nero; Dio 53.32.2, Suetonius *Augustus* 36. These last are attested in the mid fourth century C.E.; *CIL* 5.4329, 6.1265, 9.2845, 5645, 10.5182, 14.3607; C. H. V. Sutherland, "Aerarium and Fiscus During the Early Empire," *American Journal of Philology* 66 (1945): 156; Graham P. Burton, "Aerarium," in *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 3rd edn, eds Simon Hornblower and Antony Spawforth (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 24–5.

encroached upon any of the tribute or indirect taxes which traditionally fed the *aerarium*.⁴

Even a cursory glance at the *Res Gestae*, however, reveals that Augustus provided many public services “pecunia sua,” “with his own money.”⁵ The use of one’s *fiscus*, or purse,⁶ in the public sphere had precedents in the social, political, and even military circumstances of the late republic and triumviral period.⁷ However, as in so many cases, the scale of Augustus’ wealth and its interaction with ‘the public thing’ was unparalleled.⁸ This power of the purse was an important means through which Augustus maintained his position, comparable to his monopoly over the military, as the title above the inscribed *Res Gestae* reveals:

rerum gestarum divi Augusti, quibus orbem terrarum imperio
populi Rom. subiecit, et inpensarum, quas in rem publicam
populumque Romanum fecit . . . exemplar subiectum.

a copy of the things done by the divine Augustus, by which he subjugated the whole world to the command of the Roman people, and of the funds which he expended for the *res publica* and the Roman people.⁹

Even after Augustus restored the *res publica* in 27, his *fiscus* was consistently more powerful than the public treasury – four times he gave money outright to the *aerarium*.¹⁰ Augustus also paid for distributions of cash and grain,¹¹ for the construction of public buildings from temples to aqueducts, for games, and the like.¹² In this way, Augustus supported the community of Rome like a dependant of his household.

4 Fergus Millar, “The Fiscus in the First Two Centuries,” *Journal of Roman Studies* 53 (1963): 34. 5 5, 15–18.

6 “Fiscus” was used in the republic of a free individual’s money and the public funds of a provincial governor; under the emperors, it came to refer to all the funds under their control, and thus an amalgamation of public and their inherited private wealth; P. A. Brunt, “The ‘Fiscus’ and its Development,” *Journal of Roman Studies* 56 (1966): 76–8, 85–91 and “Remarks on the Imperial *Fiscus*,” in *Roman Imperial Themes* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), 347–53. That the imperial *fiscus* originated as Augustus’ private purse is suggested by its treatment in later law as privately owned property and by the use of such synonyms for it as *res familiaris*, “family estate,” and *pecunia sua*, “one’s own money,” and by early imperial literary distinctions between the emperor’s *fiscus* and the *aerarium*; Fergus Millar and Graham P. Burton, “Fiscus,” in *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 3rd edn, eds Simon Hornblower and Antony Spawforth (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 598–9; Millar, “The Fiscus,” 29, 32; Brunt, “The ‘Fiscus’,” 78.

7 E.g., Plutarch *Crassus* 12.2, Sallust *Catilinarian Conspiracy* 48.9, *Res Gestae* 1.1.

8 In fact, the relationship between the *aerarium* and the imperial *fiscus* is still murky and debated. See Millar and Burton, “Fiscus,” 598–9 and Brunt, “Remarks on the Imperial *Fiscus*,” 347–53.

9 Sutherland, “*Aerarium* and *Fiscus*,” 152; cf. Suetonius *Augustus* 101.3.

10 *Res Gestae* 17.1, Dio 53.2; Sutherland, “*Aerarium* and *Fiscus*,” 153.

11 *Res Gestae* 15, Dio 53.28, 54.29; *Res Gestae* 5.2, Suetonius *Augustus* 41, Dio 55.26.3.

12 *Res Gestae* 19–23, Dio 53.2.1, 54.11.7, Frontinus *On Aqueducts* 2.125; Suetonius *Augustus* 43.

A particularly revealing example of this economic support is found in Augustus' relationship with various military groups. The first official fire brigade was formed by an aedile of 19 B.C.E. out of his private family of slaves.¹³ Augustus took over the provision of this *familia*, giving control of 600 slaves to the annual aediles.¹⁴ In 6 C.E., he organized groups of freedmen to combat fires and began paying them from the state treasury.¹⁵ Compare the fact that Tiberius commended the senate for approving payment of the praetorian guard out of the *aerarium* in 32 C.E.¹⁶ Both the firemen and the imperial guard thus must have been paid out of the *fiscus* previously: that is, they were paid directly by the emperor.¹⁷ Similarly, the *aerarium militare*, a special treasury developed in 6 C.E. to fund the retirement of regular soldiers, fell in between communal and imperial accounts. Two new taxes maintained the fund, but Augustus opened it with a gift of 170,000 sesterces from his private purse and undoubtedly made great noise about this to the soldiers themselves.¹⁸ By using his own *fiscus* to maintain these military forces, Augustus bound the soldiers to himself personally and obligated them in the way that Romans often used economics to obligate friends, clients, and freedmen.

We should compare this personal sponsorship of the armed forces with Augustus' donations to individuals of the elite to enable them to maintain their senatorial class status.¹⁹ Livia engaged in similar activities by providing dowries for women not of her own family and supporting childraising.²⁰ In this way, the parents in Augustus' family treated that class, those families, and those individuals as part of their extended household; Livia and Augustus used economic resources to create relationships of dependency with other members of the aristocracy. Note, as well, that these are highly political actions within a familial context. Augustus and Livia hereby personally and financially reinforced the class structure which Augustus' laws, new and revived festivals, and other efforts had endeavored to create. They also reinforced Augustus' family values campaign – laws, rites and images encouraging marriage and childrearing, which had already complicated the boundaries between public and private among the aristocracy. In providing dowries and loans to those outside of their immediate family, Augustus and Livia acted both as members of an exemplary family and as protectors and thus as officials of the community.

13 Velleius 2.91.3–92.4, Dio 53.26.4. On chronological problems with Dio's account, see B. Manuwald, *Cassius Dio und Augustus: Philologische Untersuchungen zu den Büchern 45–56 des dionischen Geschichtswerkes* (Weisbaden: Steiner, 1979), 113–17.

14 Dio 54.2.4.

15 Dio 55.26.5.

16 Dio 58.18.3.

17 For more on both of these paramilitary groups, see below.

18 *Res Gestae* 17.2, Dio 55.24.9–25.6.

19 Suetonius *Augustus* 41, Dio 55.13.6–7, Tacitus *Annals* 2.37.

20 Dio 58.2.3.

The overlap of public and private is also expressed in the competition which developed between the *fiscus* and the *aerarium* for the proceeds of certain new taxes and penalties. Most of the income to the *fiscus* came from the typical resources of individual wealthy Romans writ large: loans to other people and communities,²¹ the management of estates in Italy and abroad,²² inheritances and legacies.²³ In turn, Tacitus reports that the 9 C.E. revision of Augustus' marriage law gave the property of those who died without heirs to the *aerarium*, "velut parens omnium populus," "as if the people," were the "parent of all."²⁴ However, as early as Tiberius we know of cases in which such goods were sought by the *fiscus*,²⁵ the emperor apparently being considered the true parent of all. This economic adoption of the childless by the community or by Augustus' house further helped the identification of these two entities. Augustus, as the *pater* of both the imperial house and the community, was thus the *pater* of every Roman.

The property of the condemned also came to be the property of Augustus, especially in cases of treason, which were considered a combination of disloyalty to Rome and to his house. The first known instance is of Cornelius Gallus in 26 B.C.E. The senate condemned him for treason for erecting statues of himself in Egypt and other unspecified crimes, exiled him, confiscated his estate, and gave these goods to Augustus.²⁶ Josephus tells us the property of the condemned Archelaus of Judaea was also deposited in the "treasury of Caesar" in 6 C.E.²⁷ More cases are known under Tiberius.²⁸ In *Annals* 6.17, Tacitus makes the general observation that by 33 C.E. the property of the condemned had gone either to the *aerarium* or the *fiscus*. Confusion had apparently arisen as to the nature of treason, whether it injured the emperor, his house, or the community, whether these were even distinguishable, and the practical difference between the imperial estate and the state treasury.²⁹

Finally, we have evidence of a large amount of control which Augustus exerted even over the public finances retained in the *aerarium*. I have already noted Augustus' grants or loans to the bankrupt state treasury.³⁰ Recall as well

21 *SIG* 800 of 1/2 B.C.E.; cf. Cicero *Letters to Atticus* 6.19.

22 H. G. Pflaum, *Les carrières procuratoriennes équestres sous le haut-empire romain* (Paris: P. Geuthner, 1961), 1070–1; Pliny *Natural History* 12.113, 123.

23 Suetonius *Augustus* 101.3; cf. 59, 66.4, Dio 56.32.3; Robert Samuel Rogers, "The Roman Emperors as Heirs and Legatees," *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 78 (1947): 140–3. For more on Augustus' benefactions from wills, see below.

24 *Annals* 3.25–8.

25 Tacitus *Annals* 2.48.1.

26 Dio 53.23.5–7; cf. Brunt, "The 'Fiscus,'" 81.

27 *The Jewish War* 2.7.3; cf. *CIL* 6.4776, 5872.

28 Tacitus *Annals* 4.20, 6.2, 6.19, *SC de Pisone* 84–105; cf. Brunt, "The 'Fiscus,'" 81–2.

29 Cf. Tacitus *Annals* 6.2.

30 *Res Gestae* 17.1, Dio 53.2.

that, at least according to Dio,³¹ when Augustus believed himself to be on his deathbed in 23 B.C.E., he handed over to his co-consul Piso an account of Rome's military deployment and a record of public revenues – his authority over both was well established already. In turn, the only Roman mint producing precious metal coins after 12 B.C.E. was Lugdunum, located conveniently on the supply route for the troops on the German frontier, but also safely within a province controlled by Augustus.³² Dio notes that he published accounts of the public funds periodically.³³ In addition, in 6 C.E., along with establishing the separate and self-sponsored *aerarium militare*, Augustus appointed a board of three ex-consuls to evaluate state expenditure.³⁴ In practice, the *aerarium* seems not to have had the resources or authority to work independently of Augustus.

At Augustus' death in 14 C.E., none of this control had been relinquished. Suetonius reports he left several documents, including “breviarium totius imperii, quantum militum sub signis ubique esset, quantum pecuniae in aerario et fisci et vectigaliorum residuis,” “a summary of the whole empire, how many soldiers were in active service and where, and how much money was in the *aerarium* and in the *fisci*³⁵ and owed in taxes.”³⁶ The *Pater Patriae* effectively controlled the state funds, no matter in which account they happened to be stored.

SLAVE AND FREED STAFF

Of course, we do not have to interpret Augustus' economic control as a function of his status as head of his family or as *Pater Patriae*; as with the military, a monopoly over state finances was a means by which Augustus maintained his own position. However, the picture becomes much more familial in a Roman context when we think not in terms of accounts, but in terms of accountants. Significantly, the above-mentioned passage of Suetonius describing the documents Augustus left at his death concludes: “Adiecit et libertorum servorumque nomina, a quibus ratio exigi posset.” “He added the names of both the freedmen and slaves from whom an account could be exacted.” Apparently, all these accounts, including the *aerarium*, were managed by servants and freedmen. Thus, the importance of Augustus' relationship with the *aerarium* is not just that he was patently in charge, but that the manner in

³¹ Dio 53.30.2.

³² See above, Chapter 4.

³³ 59.9.4; cf. Suetonius *Caligula* 16.

³⁴ Dio 55.25.6.

³⁵ These *fisci* (plural) must be both Augustus' now semi-private purse and the accounts of the provinces under his authority.

³⁶ Suetonius *Augustus* 101.4.

which he administered his authority over such funds was the manner in which heads of household had managed accounts for years, that is, by using family slaves and ex-slaves.³⁷ Unfortunately, our evidence cannot outline the series of elaborate administrative departments of imperial freed and slave civil servants we find by the second century of the empire.³⁸ However, some trends and details, such as the above comment about financial accounts, allow us to perceive the expansion of the imperial *familia* into public service under Augustus and Tiberius.

The management of the city's first public baths provides a useful illustration. When Agrippa died in 12 B.C.E., he left to the people of Rome the free gardens and baths he had built in the Campus Martius, and he left to Augustus "certain estates" to maintain them. Dio adds that Augustus in turn made these "public."³⁹ A similar phenomenon resulted in the administration of the aqueducts in the late first century C.E. described by Frontinus: "The *familiae*⁴⁰ are two, the one public, the other of Caesar . . . The *familia* of Caesar receives its pay from the *fiscus*."⁴¹ We might compare Augustus' initial provision for state-sponsored fire fighters in the form of 600 slaves put at the disposal of the aediles.⁴²

In addition, Augustus' freedmen and slaves naturally administered the estates which had come into his possession all over the empire.⁴³ Such managers were called "procurators," the term used for personal agents or managers acting for private individuals during the late republic and empire.⁴⁴ Many of these properties were quite large: the estates of Cleopatra in Egypt were distributed to the family and friends of Augustus, often to be bequeathed back to him upon their deaths,⁴⁵ and inheritances are known from Kings Amyntas of Galatia, Herod of Judea, and Juba, the king of Mauretania.⁴⁶ We know of mines owned by Livia in Gaul,⁴⁷ balsam plantations near Jericho,⁴⁸ a

37 See above, Chapter 1. Brunt, "The 'Fiscus,'" also emphasizes the role of the emperor's use of private staff to administer public funds in developing a monopoly over public finance.

38 Cf. P. R. C. Weaver, *Familia Caesaris* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972), 200–81; Gérard Boulvert, *Esclaves et affranchis impériaux sous le Haut-Empire romain* (Naples: Jovene, 1970), 262–318.

39 54.29.4.

40 Here in the specific sense of a distinguishable group of freed and slave workers.

41 *On Aqueducts* 116–18.

42 Dio 54.2.4; cf. 55.26.4–5.

43 For a detailed study of the management of imperial estates, see Dorothy J. Crawford, "Imperial Estates," in *Studies in Roman Property*, ed. M. I. Finley (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976), 44–54.

44 Weaver, *Familia Caesaris*, 267; *Digest* 3.3.1.

45 Crawford, "Imperial Estates," 40–1.

46 Amyntas: *CIL* 6.8894, 4035, 8738, 10395; Herod: *CIL* 6.9005, *AE* 1948:141; Juba: *CIL* 6.5754, 9046.

47 Pliny *Natural History* 34.2–4.

48 Pliny *Natural History* 12.113, 123, Josephus *The Jewish War* 1.361; Millar, "The Fiscus," 30.

procurator Asiae of 23 C.E.,⁴⁹ and a number of private Augustan procurators in Achaia.⁵⁰ As a result, the land in several provinces which fell under direct imperial control was formidable,⁵¹ and the freedman or free private manager attending to this business of the emperor abroad “rapidly took on a public, official character.”⁵² Thus, for example, an Augustan *libertus*, “freedman,” put his name on a bronze coin minted at Knossos,⁵³ and procurators were eligible to use the newly instituted official postal service.⁵⁴ An interesting comparison is the case of a Roman quaestor, a traditional government official, put in charge of a slave gang of Tiberius that worked a mine in France.⁵⁵

Within at least those provinces under the direct control of the emperor, as well, certain parts of civic administration were turned over to freedmen of Augustus and Tiberius directly. For example, during the late republic, supervision of a household, and especially household accounts, had been entrusted to a *dispensator*.⁵⁶ However, we know of a freedman of Tiberius who was “*dispensator* of the Gallic *fiscus* of the province of Lugdunensis,” who himself had at least fifteen other slaves.⁵⁷ Roughly contemporary is an inscription for the *dispensator* of the census of the same province.⁵⁸ Gallia Lugdunensis was an important imperial province, one of the few Augustus regularly visited himself after 17 B.C.E., so management by the trusted staff of his own house naturally spread there first.⁵⁹ Later in the first century, however, we find an imperial freedman *dispensator* of Cilicia,⁶⁰ of Dalmatia, and of Moesia.⁶¹ Eventually, “the bulk of the imperial civil service was made up of those who were below equestrian rank and who were almost entirely the emperor’s freedmen and slaves;” they ran “the aqueducts, libraries, postal service, roads, public works and buildings, imperially-owned mines, marble quarries and the mint.”⁶²

Andrew Wallace-Hadrill inadvertently adduces a useful example of the familial nature of imperial authority in Rome itself while exploring the possibility of an Augustan cultural revolution. In one section addressing the

49 Tacitus *Annals* 4.15.

50 See Pflaum, *Carrières procuratoriennes*, 1070–1.

51 For a list of documented imperial estates of various periods, see Crawford, “Imperial Estates,” 57–70.

52 Weaver, *Familia Caesaris*, 267; cf. P. A. Brunt, “Princes and Equites,” *Journal of Roman Studies* 73 (1983): nn. 64–77.

53 Weaver, *Familia Caesaris*, 49; F. Imhoof-Blumer, *Monnaies grecques* (Amsterdam: J. Muller, 1883), 214 n.10.

54 For more on the *cursus publicus*, see below.

55 CIL 13.550.

56 Cicero, *On the Res Publica* 5.5; cf. Treggiari, *Roman Freedmen*, 144, 263–4; Gaius *Institutes* 1.22.

57 CIL 6.5197.

58 CIL 6.8578.

59 Cf. Dio 54.21.3–8.

60 CIL 6.6639.

61 CIL 3.1994.

62 Weaver, *Familia Caesaris*, 2, 7; cf. Brunt, “The ‘Fiscus,’” 87–8.

control of tradition, Wallace-Hadrill looks at a shift in channels of authority from republican nobles to specialized antiquarians:

The late Republic thus produces a dislocation of authority: social authority and academic learning pull in opposite directions. Augustus brings the two back into unison. He is not an antiquarian; but he reads, respects, employs, and exploits antiquarians. Verrius Flaccus teaches in his palace; Gaius Melissus would rather be an imperial freedman and Palatine librarian than claim his free birth.* The lowly social status of the academic makes it easier for Augustus to incorporate them within his own household; and in a massive and pervasive 'restoration' of tradition defined by antiquarian learning, he associates his authority with theirs.⁶³

*Suetonius, *De grammaticis* 21.

Wallace-Hadrill's analysis of tradition is intriguing, and I would simply reemphasize how the new structure of authority is articulated through a specifically *familial* relationship between Augustus and the antiquarians.

We have other evidence that the size of domestic staff increased inside Augustus' family in this period. Although Tacitus mentions that Tiberius administered his *domus* with a small number of freedmen,⁶⁴ presumably in comparison with the emperors of Tacitus' day, and although the number of surviving inscriptions about members of the *familia* of Augustus and Tiberius is smaller than any other comparable imperial period,⁶⁵ growing pains are evident. For example, of the imperial freedmen throughout the empire who can be identified as having had a previous, nonimperial owner, a very large percentage are found in the Augustan period.⁶⁶ Slaves had to be brought in by gift, bequest, legacy, purchase, and confiscation to perform the growing duties of Augustus' house.⁶⁷

Due to accidents of survival, our evidence for the particular posts involved is better for the households of Livia and Drusus' widow Antonia than of Augustus himself.⁶⁸ Interestingly, both show an elaboration particularly in the number and types of servants who controlled access to their owners. Thus, in

63 "Mutatio morum," 14.

64 *Annals* 4.16.

65 Weaver, *Familia Caesaris*, 32.

66 Weaver, *Familia Caesaris*, 215–16.

67 Weaver, *Familia Caesaris*, 199.

68 Note, however, that Livia (Suetonius *Augustus* 101.2) and probably Antonia inherited property, including slaves, from their husbands. Thus, for example, freedmen whose names indicate they were freed by Livia may have been left to her as slaves by Augustus, and thereby give us information about his staff as well.

addition to regular doorkeepers, *ostiarii*,⁶⁹ we find the new slave *ab admissione*, who scheduled audiences with the master or mistress.⁷⁰ Antonia and probably Livia and Tiberius also had *rogatores* in charge of specially inviting guests.⁷¹ Finally, large numbers of *cubicularii* are known of Livia's household – Cicero refers to using one in the singular while serving as the governor of Cilicia,⁷² Livia had at least six, plus a supervisor.⁷³ These were not maids or dressers, who are attested separately,⁷⁴ but guards and attendants for the very select guests allowed in the bedroom/private study called the *cubiculum*.⁷⁵

We can only appreciate the significance of this rise in the number and variety of receptionists and personal secretaries for the women of Augustus' family, in particular, in the context of the roles women played in the Roman aristocracy during the late republic and triumviral period. As discussed in Chapter 1, within their families, elite women had a number of duties and activities which took them into what we would call the public sphere, including compiling and distributing information, arranging political marriages, advising husbands, fathers, sons, and brothers, and brokering influence between their own relatives and men and women outside their families. A useful example would be Cicero's very formal letter to Q. Metellus Celer in 62 B.C.E., in which he calls on the proconsul to end his tribune brother's political attack; the orator mentions that he had already engaged the support of Celer's wife and sister in his efforts to end the feud.⁷⁶ Women thus participated in the sociopolitical milieu of the aristocracy, but as part of their role as support staff for the politically active men of their families.⁷⁷

Because of the unprecedented power of the male head of their household, Livia and Antonia worked on a completely different scale from their republican counterparts; however, their family roles were essentially the same at this early stage in the development of the empire. Therefore, increases in the size of their personal staff imply a corresponding increase in the petitions, contacts, and persons trying to gain access to the authority of Augustus through his relatives and the business conducted in their private homes, that is, through his family. An apt illustration is Ovid's appeal from exile to Augustus through the graces of Livia.⁷⁸ Livia's powerful friends and clients were in fact remarked upon

69 CIL 6.3965, 3995, 8964, 3997.

70 CIL 6.33762; Susan Treggiari, "Jobs in the Household of Livia," *Papers of the British School at Rome* 43 (1975): 51.

71 CIL 6.33794, 4026.

72 *Letters to Atticus* 6.2.5: When hosting provincials and others in the performance of public duties, "I do not use a *cubicularius*." This may not necessarily indicate he had only one, however.

73 CIL 6.4231, 3957–61, 6.8766, cf. 3954.

74 Treggiari, "Jobs in the Household," 52–4.

75 Cicero *Letters to Atticus* 6.2.5; Riggsby, "Cubiculum."

76 *Letters to Friends* 5.2.6.

77 Cf. Plutarch *Life of Antony* 54.4–5.

78 *Letters from Pontus* 3.1.114–47.

frequently,⁷⁹ a sign of the influence and prestige appropriate to the *matrona* of the family of state. As Tacitus writes, “Livia gravis in rem publicam mater, gravis domui Caesarum noverca,” “Livia was a serious⁸⁰ mother to the *res publica*, a serious stepmother to the house of the Caesars.”

Another traditional role which Livia played in her own household but which brought her to unusual power and influence within the imperial system was that of informal adviser to her husband. As also mentioned in Chapter 1, many republican matrons were quite politically savvy, and their opinions even on public issues were valued within the context of the family. For example, from his personal letters we know that Cicero highly respected his wife’s input into the efforts to have him recalled from exile and his daughter’s advice that he not offend Clodius in court.⁸¹ Similarly, Augustus seems to have taken Livia’s advice on a variety of topics. Suetonius reports that Augustus liked to use notes in important conversations, particularly those with Livia, and he records an exchange of letters between the two discussing the public image of Livia’s grandson Claudius.⁸²

In turn, both Seneca and Dio report that it was Livia who advised Augustus to pardon certain men conspiring against him.⁸³ The conspirators in question are different in the two accounts, Lucius Cinna and Gnaeus Cornelius respectively, but many interesting elements are the same: both Seneca and Dio create a lengthy conversation between these heads of the imperial house on the topic of clemency, both make the setting explicitly domestic, and both have Livia add the comment “if you don’t mind taking advice from a woman.”⁸⁴ The proper family context and gender roles are thus carefully maintained in each scene, and no impropriety is thus perceived by either author, despite the great political import of the topic at hand – the appropriate treatment of conspirators. Augustus takes Livia’s advice in both versions, and Seneca even uses the situation to illustrate a positive point in his moral essay *On Clemency*. The first lady’s resulting influence would have been great indeed – grounded in the respected family roles of women in the republican aristocracy, but now exercised in the most powerful family in Rome, part private and part public institution, and over a husband who was coming to be the undisputed head of the state, the father of his country.⁸⁵

79 Suetonius *Augustus* 40, *Galba* 5.2, *Orbo* 1; Tacitus *Annals* 3.24, 4.21, 5.1–2; Macrobius *Saturnalia* 2.5.6; Dio 54.7; *CIL* 12.5842; *SC de Pisone* 109–20.

80 “Gravis” can also mean burdensome, severe, venerable, and/or pregnant, the last of which certainly plays on the fact that Livia was pregnant with Drusus when she married Octavian. Tacitus’ use of the word to describe her is heavily loaded, but for our purposes the point is that he uses her family position to describe her status in the community.

81 *Letters to Friends* 14.2.2–4, *Letters to Atticus* 10.8.1; cf. *Letters to Brutus* 24.13, 26.6.

82 *Augustus* 84, *Claudius* 4.

83 Seneca *On Clemency* 1.9.6–7; Dio 55.14–22.

84 Seneca 1.9.6, Dio 55.14.2–16.1.

85 Cf. Purcell, “Livia,” 87–8. For the influence Livia gained through her role as the mother of the next *princeps*, see below, Chapter 8.

Livia's role in practical administration can also be seen in forms of interaction with foreign officials. In this case, as well, Augustus' family became dominant in the public sphere by fulfilling traditional family roles on a new scale. Even during the republic, the Romans had endeavored to support a series of pro-Roman kingdoms as a form of buffer zone along the borders of sensitive provinces. Republican generals and governors had conducted relations with these kings through personal as well as public relationships. For example, during Cicero's governorship of Cilicia in 52 B.C.E., his son and nephew stayed in the royal court of King Deiotarus of Galatia while he and his brother were fighting in the interior, and he worked with the young King Ariobarzanes III of Cappadocia to uncover a court conspiracy and repay the king's debts to Pompey and Brutus.⁸⁶ Pompey's settlement of the eastern provinces a decade earlier had largely involved carving up different territories, making some into provinces, assigning others to powerful local families, deposing and reassigning various preexisting dynasties, and generally creating a number of powerful foreign contacts for himself.⁸⁷ This situation had of course intensified under the triumvirs; recall that Antony married the Hellenistic dynast Cleopatra and allotted kingdoms to their children.⁸⁸

Under Augustus, these forms of personal international relations continued, only aided by the fact that one Roman family now seemed permanently dominant. Many male and female members of Augustus' house had friends among the client kings and their courts: Livia inherited property from Salome, the sister of King Herod of Judaea;⁸⁹ Salome's daughter Berenice named Antonia in her own will.⁹⁰ Tiberius defended King Archelaus of Cappadocia before Augustus.⁹¹ Octavia raised Antony's children by Cleopatra and arranged for one to marry King Juba of Mauretania.⁹² Augustus raised in Rome the children of a Parthian king and of various Gallic chieftains.⁹³ Sons of Herod of Judaea also grew up in Rome.⁹⁴ The communities of both Samos and Sparta were favored by Augustus through their patron Livia.⁹⁵ Such contacts were furthered by the new tradition of having imperial women and children travel all over the empire; Livia was said to have traveled with Augustus "to

86 *Letters to Atticus* 5.17, 20, 6.1 *Letters to Friends* 15.4.

87 Plutarch *Pompey* 38, Appian *Mithridatic Wars* 114–15, Dio 37.7a.

88 Plutarch *Antony* 54; cf. G. W. Bowersock, *Augustus and the Greek World* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965): 42–61.

89 Josephus *Jewish Antiquities* 18.31.

90 Josephus *Jewish Antiquities* 18.156.

91 Suetonius *Tiberius* 8, Dio 57.17.3–5.

92 Plutarch *Antony* 87, Dio 51.15.

93 *Res Gestae* 32.2; Kuttner, *Boscovale Cups*, 94–123.

94 Josephus *Jewish Antiquities* 18.143, 17.10, *Jewish War* 1.602.

95 Dio 54.7.2; *DCIP* 93; Joyce Maire Reynolds, *Aphrodisias and Rome* (London: Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies, 1982), 104–6.

east and west,"⁹⁶ while Julia went with Agrippa to the eastern provinces in 16 B.C.E.⁹⁷

One benefit to the members of Augustus' house was financial; many of them inherited property abroad from these friends and dependants. In the household of Tiberius and Livia were slaves formerly owned by Kings Amyntas, Archelaus, Herod, and Juba.⁹⁸ A scholar of the imperial estates in fact notes that in Asia such properties seem to have clustered in the inland areas, not near the independent cities of the Greek coast, that is, they were in "the crown land . . . of the earlier Hellenistic kingdoms."⁹⁹ It is instructive to compare this with the will of the last king of the Attalid dynasty, who in 133 B.C.E. left his kingdom not to an individual, but to the Roman people.¹⁰⁰ The individuals of Augustus' family had now taken over that role.

More important than these fiscal advantages, however, was that these personal and familial contacts were an important means by which Roman authority was exerted in the provinces and client kingdoms. In this way, both male and female relatives of Augustus effectively became administrators of that authority. We should therefore not be surprised to hear that foreign embassies and delegations from the senate began to go straight to the house of Livia.¹⁰¹

We can see here a complex process whereby one family, in fulfilling traditional roles to its maximum advantage, transformed itself into something new to the Roman experience within the context of Augustus' long-term political dominance. We should remember, as well, that the resulting presence of a family in politics was easily glossed by the elements of the moral campaign that Augustus had been waging for so long. For example, in the context of the almost unprecedented situation of women traveling with their husbands even to military assignments, in 21 C.E. Drusus the Younger declared he did not mind having spent so many years in Illyricum, but that he would not have been happy had he also been severed from his wife and children all those years.¹⁰² He excused and defended the presence of his wife on campaign by invoking her importance to his personal happiness. Such close family ties had

96 Tacitus *Annals* 3.34.6; cf. Speech of Germanicus in Egypt, *EJ* 320, and Seneca *Dialogues* 6.4.3. For a list of the inscriptions set up to honor Livia by communities along the path of her and Augustus' travels in the east in 22–19 B.C.E., see Rolf Winkes, *Livia, Octavia, Julia* (Louvain-la-Neuve and Providence: Art and Archaeology Publications, 1995), 52.

97 Helmut Halfmann, *Itinera Principum* (Stuttgart: F. Steiner, 1986), 163–6. For more on the increasing presence of women in the provinces and even in military camps in the early principate, see below, Chapter 9.

98 *CIL* 6.8894, 4035, 8738, 10395; 4776, 5872; 9005; 5754, 9046; Weaver, *Familia Caesaris*, 213 n. 1.

99 Crawford, "Imperial Estates," 37.

100 Plutarch *Tiberius Gracchus* 14.1.

101 Dio 48.52.4, 57.12.2.

102 Tacitus *Annals* 3.34.6.

become a proper public image and topic of conversation, and thus the entrance of Augustus' family into administration could be explained as an aspect of having a close and thus exemplary family.¹⁰³

When we couple this with our evidence for the increasing involvement of the slave part of Augustus' *familia* in the government, it becomes clear that the first emperor used the persons and procedures of the aristocratic household to administer the empire. The resulting public status of his house only reinforced its power. The inscriptional evidence confirms that as early as Augustus the emperor's family slaves and freedmen developed a special status. Not only did they marry those of higher status than themselves, a precise nomenclature developed to identify them as members of the imperial house.¹⁰⁴ Similarly to the *servi publici*, who enjoyed special legal privileges, members of the *familia Caesaris* came to be recognized for their public and semi-public functions, which gave them access to power. As Weaver points out, the slave and freed staff of the imperial household thus became a whole new class in Roman society.¹⁰⁵

Through the complex processes we have been exploring, the same happened with Augustus' relations; Livia is the best illustration. She advised her husband, handled petitions and appeals to him, and managed her own set of important clients and friends. Through these traditional duties, but in an imperial context, she developed a powerful and recognized influence in public affairs. When she came into the public sphere, however, her entrance was covered by reference to the family: she patronized those outside her family to provide them with dowries for marriage; she built a public shrine, but in a portico of her son and in honor of her marriage; she traveled to the provinces and visited the courts of foreign kings, as companion of her husband; and she gave political advice to the head of the state, but in the setting of their shared marriage bed. Livia worked her family situation within the new political context to create an unprecedentedly public position for herself as a woman in the Roman aristocracy, which made her all that much better an assistant to Augustus.

Although Augustus' unparalleled status in the state created the necessary setting for the rise of his administrative and familial staff in the ways we have seen, once his family had become part of the civil service, that fact reinforced his status. This situation led Tacitus to condemn the Julio-Claudian emperors for what he perceived as the inappropriate amount of power held by imperial women and freedmen in their administrations. For our purposes, however, a more important result of this development is that being *pater* of this complex family administrative machine defined a specific if unprecedented position of authority in the community at large.

103 For more on this, see below on the *SC de Pisone*, Chapter 9.

104 Weaver, *Familia Caesaris*, 162, 42–80.

105 *Familia Caesaris*, 5.

ROME AS AUGUSTUS' HOUSEHOLD

Augustus' paternal role over Rome, however, did not just derive from his status as *pater* of this growing variety of civil servants. The *imperator* also had the community perform functions for him usually left to the private family. That is, Augustus used public resources as if they were his own, and he created public institutions to protect his personal privileges.

An example is found in the case of his bodyguards. During the violence of the late republic and triumviral period, politicians had often been escorted by hired gangs.¹⁰⁶ Suetonius tells us that, after the defeat of Antony, Octavian retained as a personal bodyguard a group of German auxiliaries – that is, part of the army – which he dismissed only after the defeat of Varus in Germany in 9 C.E.¹⁰⁷ Inscriptions of the time of Nero, however, attest that many of the *Germani corporis custodes*, “German bodyguards,” were slaves and freedmen of the emperor.¹⁰⁸ This part of Augustus' escort thus seems to have been provided by a combination of public and private sources.

Augustus also instituted a permanent guard for himself out of the regular military guard of a general in camp, the *cohors praetoria*. In the republic, tradition allowed soldiers to be housed near the city only for specific events, such as elections or triumphs. Augustus at first kept small groups of his praetorians spread throughout the city, but eventually nine cohorts of about 500 men each were garrisoned there. The men were recruited from the civilian population, not from the legions, and after 2 B.C.E. were led by two prefects of equestrian rank.¹⁰⁹ Augustus hereby created a paramilitary force tied specifically to himself and charged with his protection, but using the resources and terminology of the state military.

An even clearer case in point is the *cursus publicus*. During the republic, no state postal service existed. Even provincial governors, let alone average citizens, had to make private arrangements for the distribution of letters, the only form of long-distance communication available. Augustus imposed this function of the aristocratic family on local communities. Details about his original provisions are scanty; Suetonius reports that “first he stationed young men at fixed intervals along the military roads, and then later vehicles.”¹¹⁰ Inscriptions dating as early as the reign of Tiberius, however, show that local towns all over the empire struggled to meet a complex set of imperial regulations regarding post and transport provisions.¹¹¹ The document from Pisidia

106 Andrew Lintott, *Violence in Republican Rome* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968), 74–88.

107 *Augustus* 49.1; cf. Dio 56.23.

108 CIL 6.8803, 4340, 4337, 4341, 4345, etc.; Weaver, *Familia Caesaris*, 83.

109 On Augustus' *cobortes praetoriae*, see Keppie, *Making of the Roman Army*, 153–4.

110 *Augustus* 49.3; cf. Boulvert, *Esclaves*, 64–5.

111 Pisidia: Stephen Mitchell, “Requisitioned Transport in the Roman Empire: A New Inscription from Pisidia,” *Journal of Roman Studies* 66 (1976): 106–31. Italy: DGCN 375.

clarifies that cities and villages were to maintain carts and mules for authorized personnel traveling through specified areas. Eligible users included men on military service, including senators “of the Roman people” and *equites* “in the service of the best of emperors,” and the local freedman “procurator of the best of emperors” – an interesting collection of “officials.” In addition, board and lodging were to be provided to the staff and soldiers of the author of the edict, a praetorian legate of Tiberius, and “to persons on military service from all provinces and to freedmen and slaves of the best of emperors.” Governments across the empire, contrary to earlier tradition, were required to maintain an elaborate posting and transport service; that system in turn serviced an imperial bureaucracy made up of a combination of traditional government officials and the newly public functionaries of Augustus’ house.

Augustus also continued his legislative treatment of the community as part of his family that we saw in his marriage and adultery laws of 19–17 B.C.E., now in terms of the slave and freed members of the Roman household. In 2 B.C.E., the *lex Fufia Caninia* restricted the number of slaves an owner could set free in his or her will, while the *lex Aelia Sentia* of 4 C.E. further regulated the manumission of slaves by denying freedpersons full citizen status unless certain conditions were met.¹¹² These laws are usually, and in many ways rightly, interpreted as efforts to minimize “unworthy” slave influx into the Roman citizen body – a form of moral and ideological boundary defense characteristic of Augustan legislation.¹¹³ However, the laws also imposed upon the traditional prerogative of the private owner to manumit whomever and whenever he or she wished. Throughout this period, we can see Augustus defending the Roman family as the moral foundation of the community, all the while himself undercutting or interfering with the prerogatives of real heads of households. This process created the idea of an overarching family of Rome, with Augustus as its head.

We might compare Augustus’ establishment of the cult of the August Lares about a decade earlier, which also set up Augustus as a complementary or even alternative patron to the freedmen of the city. Recall that these cults were set up in tandem with administrative units in charge of new, publicly sponsored fire and police services, the managers of which used family cult to articulate their relationship to Augustus.

Augustus’ caretakership of the community was often family-oriented. He revised the marriage law in 9 C.E. to make the public treasury the heir of childless citizens.¹¹⁴ In addition, “to those of the plebeians who showed him sons and daughters while he was touring regions, [Augustus] distributed a thousand

112 Suetonius *Augustus* 40.3–4, Dio 55.13.7, Gaius *Institutes* 1.18, Ulpian *Digest* 1.12.

113 Suetonius *Augustus* 40.3; Bradley, *Slaves and Masters*, 87–95; Galinsky, *Augustan Culture*, 137–8. For a full study of the Roman law of manumission, see especially Gardner, *Family and Familia*, 6–113.

114 Tacitus *Annals* 3.25, 28.

sesterces for each child.”¹¹⁵ Similarly, the *imperator* granted exemption to freedpersons from the restrictions on citizenship imposed by the above-mentioned manumission law on the first birthday of his or her first child.¹¹⁶ Increasingly, the relationship of many types of private citizen to the community and to Augustus was shaped by his or her family status, and Augustus, in making decisions for others in the areas of slave management, marriage, and childrearing, served as the *pater* to all.

Augustus’ paternal attitude toward those outside his own family is even more clear in certain individual cases. We hear of him dismissing the will of a woman who had disinherited her son,¹¹⁷ even though he himself vetoed an attempt to curtail freedom of speech in wills.¹¹⁸ Augustus sat on family councils and, as noted earlier, gave grants to selected senatorial families at risk of falling out of their census class.¹¹⁹ The *Pater Patriae* gave money to M. Hortalus so that he could afford to marry and have children.¹²⁰ When one Cornelius Sisenna was censured in the senate for the lifestyle of his wife, he complained that Augustus had advised him to marry her.¹²¹ When Livia dowered young women and even raised children outside of her own family,¹²² she undoubtedly gave similar advice and may have even arranged certain matches. In these ways, leaders of Augustus’ house extended their familial privileges and obligations into other Roman families: that is, they acted as the *mater* and *pater* of the whole state.

Funds for such benefactions came in part from Augustus’ acceptance of numerous legacies and inheritances. Legacies and part inheritances were a long-term private tradition among the Romans, considered a means by which the dead paid last respects to surviving relatives, clients, patrons, and friends.¹²³ Suetonius reports that Augustus was inordinately concerned about these “final judgments” passed on him by his contemporaries.¹²⁴ He received a lot of property in this manner, seventy times more in the last twenty years of his life than Cicero boasted of in almost his entire lifetime.¹²⁵ We know of bequests in particular from Cornelius Cinna, Horace, Herod, Maecenas, Pacuvius, Sempronius Atratinus, Tarius Rufus, Vedius Pollio, Vergil, and

115 Suetonius *Augustus* 46.

116 Gaius *Institutes* 1.29, Ulpian *Digest* 3.3.

117 Valerius Maximus 7.7.4; Edward Champlin, *Final Judgments. Duty and Emotion in Roman Wills, 200 B.C.–A.D. 250* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), 107.

118 Suetonius *Augustus* 56.1.

119 Seneca *On Clemency* 1.15.3, Suetonius *Augustus* 41, Dio 55.13.6–7.

120 Tacitus *Annals* 2.37.

121 Dio 54.27.4.

122 Dio 58.2.3.

123 Champlin, *Final Judgments*, 5–28.

124 *Augustus* 66.4.

125 Suetonius *Augustus* 101.3: 14,000,000 sesterces; Cicero *Philippics* 2.40: 200,000 sesterces.

Agrippa.¹²⁶ Although Augustus staunchly refused to accept legacies from individuals he did not know personally,¹²⁷ the scale and stressed significance of this income resulted in the legacy becoming an indicator of loyalty under the imperial system.¹²⁸ Even under Augustus, a chunk of the wealth of the aristocracy was filtered through the personal accounts of the emperor, who redistributed it as he saw fit. We should recall in particular the donations and loans to the *aerarium*, the grants to maintain certain senatorial families, and even the *porticus* and public shrine built by Livia and Tiberius on the property Augustus inherited from Vedius Pollio. Augustus' particular situation brought these private and traditional funds into his house in unusual amounts, and he and his relatives used them in turn in both public and private capacities to reinforce his policies and power base, which had both come to be focused on the family.

CONCLUSIONS

In this chapter, we have detailed a breakdown in the lines between household and government management under Augustus. His slaves and freedmen administered public funds; his wife, daughter, and nieces conducted foreign relations; and he and Livia acted as parents of individuals and families not related to them. Such developments had immediate and discernible causes. Just as Augustus used his male relatives to protect his control of the armed forces, he used his own slaves and freedmen to protect his control of finances. Similarly, the involvement of his wife and other family members in relations with powerful Romans, provincials and client kings extended from the family roles of women within the republican aristocracy. This form of management by family would have felt natural to Augustus, and we should remember that family structures had been used to accomplish a great deal of work during the republic; the family was how aristocratic men got things done. Moreover, by utilizing his family in this fashion, Augustus avoided empowering potential rivals and maintained recognizable authority over those carrying out the work of government.

We should not, however, confuse these causes with the results of the practical extension of Augustus' household into imperial administration. In aim, each of these individual steps – from the management of the *fiscus* of Gallia Lugdunensis by a freedman, to the staffing of public baths by a gang of family slaves, to the visit of Antonia to the court of Herod of Judaea – facilitated practical administration or improved the power base of Augustus' family.

126 See Champlin, *Final Judgments*, 203 and Weaver, *Familia Caesaris*, 213–15.

127 Suetonius *Augustus* 66.4.

128 Cf. Tacitus *Agricola* 43.4.

Both of these had been aims of aristocratic families since the dawn of Rome. As more and more of Augustus' *familia* came to be running the city and empire, however, members of his family came to have visible, public roles. In this way, the family of Augustus itself and the roles of its members became public institutions.

One other important result of this process deserves mention. As more and more of the government was administered by or as a *familia*, parts of the civil service in effect became heritable as property. Although the extension of Augustus' family into government was not necessarily "dynastic" by design, it helped create the circumstances under which Augustus' position in the community could be inherited; the *pater* could designate an heir to the *patria*.

THE *PATER PATRIAE* AND HIS FAMILY, 2 B.C.E.

Augustus concludes the *Res Gestae*:

Tertium decimum consulatum cum gerebam, senatus et equester ordo populusque Romanus universus appellavit me Patrem Patriae idque in vestibulo aedium mearum inscribendum et in curia et in foro Aug. sub quadrigis, quae mihi ex s.c. positae sunt, decrevit. Cum scripsi haec, annum agebam septuagesimum sextum.

While I was administering my thirteenth consulship, the senate and the equestrian order and the whole Roman people named me Father of the Fatherland and decreed that this be inscribed in the entrance to my house, in the senate house, and in the August forum under the chariot which was set there for me by decree of the senate. When I wrote these things, I was seventy-six years old.

In this chapter, we will investigate the meaning, causes, and consequences of Augustus' acceptance of the new title "Father of the Fatherland" in 2 B.C.E.

The concept of a parent of the country had precedent, and this background gives us some insight into the meaning of Augustus' new title. As far as we know, Cicero was the first Roman to employ the metaphor of parenthood to describe political authority.¹ Later, after exposing the Catilinarian conspiracy, Cicero became the first man to receive as a title *Parens Patriae*, "Parent of the

1 Weinstock, *Divus Julius*, 201. The notion had its origins in (a) Greek philosophical presentations of the good king as a father and the bad king as a tyrant; Herodotus 3.89.3, Xenophon *Cyropaedia* 8.1.1; cf. Pliny *Panegyricus* 2.3; Weinstock, *Divus Julius*, 200–1; and in (b) the honoring of Hellenistic kings in particular as "*pater kai soter*," "father and savior"; Ion of Chios, Plutarch *Pelopidas* 33, *Aratus* 42; Alföldi, *Vater des Vaterlandes*, 48–9. The title savior was extended to Roman generals in the east, such as Titus Quinctius Flamininus, and then to the senators as a whole by Greek ambassadors in Rome; Plutarch *Life of Flamininus* 10.7, 16.7, Polybius 30.18.5; cf. Livy 45.44.20. In general, see Weinstock, *Divus Julius*, 200–5 and Alföldi, *Vater des Vaterlandes*, 27–130.

Fatherland.”² The context helps illuminate its force. At the same time, the senate also considered granting Cicero the *corona civica*,³ the Roman military award for a soldier who had saved the life of a fellow citizen, here for the first time in thanks for saving the state as a whole.⁴ In the case of individuals, the saved was also traditionally under obligation to treat his savior as a father,⁵ so in many ways the notions of father and savior were closely aligned in the first Roman formulations of the title *Parens Patriae*. Cicero also proposed that the day of the definitive senate meeting on Catiline be made a new birthday for the city of Rome and otherwise associated the position of a new founder with that of the rescuer and the parental protector of the state.⁶ Although *conditor*, *servator*, and *parens* were not used as exact synonyms, they entered Roman political discourse at the same time and were employed to describe outstanding public service in distinct but interrelated ways.

Caesar also used this language of savior and parent about himself,⁷ and in 45 B.C.E. he received both the *corona civica* for saving all the citizens and the title *Parens Patriae*.⁸ Thus, when Octavian received among other honors in 27 B.C.E. the *corona civica ob cives servatos*, “the civic wreath for citizens having been saved,”⁹ the title *Parens Patriae* conceptually accompanied it, even though at the time the recently renamed Augustus refused to accept the title. He was, even so, called “parent of the country” in literature, on inscriptions, and on coins long before 2 B.C.E.¹⁰ But if the title, or something close to it, had been held by others and was only a repetition of honorific themes at least twenty-five years old, why did Augustus wait so long to accept it, what circumstances of 2 B.C.E. encouraged its adoption then, and why did Ovid and even Augustus himself present it as the culmination of his career?¹¹

In some ways, Augustus’ acceptance was fitted to the title’s traditional associations. For example, for both of his predecessors, protecting the state during civil conflict formed the context for becoming “Parent of the Country.”¹² Augustus accepted his title on February 5, the anniversary of a Temple of Concordia, and accounts of the event emphasize the consensus of the Roman

2 Cicero *Against Piso* 6, *For Sestius* 121; Plutarch *Cicero* 23.6.

3 Cicero *Against Piso* 6, Gellius 5.6.15.

4 Gellius 5.6.11; Weinstock, *Divus Julius*, 165.

5 Polybius 6.39.7, Cicero *For Plancius* 72, Gellius 5.6.8.

6 *For Flaccus* 102; *For Gaius Rabirius* 27, 30, *On Divination* 1.3; cf. Livy 5.49.7, 7.1.10.

7 Dio 43.17.2.

8 Appian *Civil Wars* 2.106.442, 144.602; cf. *RRC* 480/19, Dio 44.4.4, Livy *Periocha* 116, Nicolaus of Damascus *Life of Augustus* 80, Suetonius *Caesar* 76.1, Florus 2.13.91, *ILS* 71, *ILLRP* 408, *CIL* 9.34.

9 *Res Gestae* 34, *RIC* 73, 76, 79.

10 Horace *Odes* 3.24.25, 1.2.50; *ILS* 96, 101, *CIL* 10.823; *RIC* 296.

11 Ovid *Fasti* 2.122–4, Augustus *Res Gestae* 35; cf. Suetonius *Augustus* 58.

12 Alföldi, *Vater des Vaterlandes*, 59–67.

plebs, *equites*, and senators which brought it about.¹³ The coincidence with a festival of Civic Accord was deliberate and in keeping with the political history of Concordia and with the title “Parent of the Country;” the title was not meant to break from its past.

One significant change came, however, in the use of *pater* instead of *parens* for Augustus. In fact, not just in the titulature, but in late republican and early Augustan references to a parent of the state in general, *parens* or *parentes* is used almost exclusively.¹⁴ Some scholars have seen in the title *pater* a reference to *patria potestas*, the legal authority which Roman fathers had over the lives of their children and slaves.¹⁵ But even if a Roman father had a legal right to kill his children, which has been seriously questioned,¹⁶ not only did the title *Pater Patriae* not confer any corresponding legal status or right on Augustus, but absolute authoritarianism cannot have been the image deliberately being drawn by him and his contemporaries with such a title. As Saller points out, “if the paternal image had been as oppressively negative as some historians have suggested, the emperor’s choice of metaphor would make no sense.”¹⁷

Instead, we should think of the broader associations of the Roman *pater*, an important, common and powerful cultural figure. As argued in Chapter 1, in Roman society the role of father entailed a range of emotional ties, obligations, and privileges, many of which would have been evoked by Augustus’ new title. In the last several chapters we have also examined numerous ways in which Augustus increasingly assumed paternal roles over the Romans and the Roman community between c. 20 and 7 B.C.E. – in legislation, in public art and ceremonies, and even in his religious activities and relations with other people. In addition, we have watched the private family over which he was *pater* become a form of public institution; his relatives developed a monopoly over the military, dominated coin images and other official monuments, worshiped the state gods in their own home, and in general served as official models of proper aristocratic public and private behavior, while his slaves and freedmen became increasingly important in the civil service. The Roman “public thing” had been becoming part of the family of Augustus, and vice versa, for a long time, and thus “pater” effectively described Augustus’ position in regard to many parts of the evolving imperial state.

Augustus’ acceptance of the title *Pater Patriae* in February began a year

13 *Fasti Praenestini*, *Res Gestae*, Suetonius *Augustus* 58, Ovid *Fasti* 2.127–8.

14 See Cicero *On the Res Publica* 1.64, 2.47, *On Orators* 3.1.3, *On His House* 35, 94, *Letters to Quintus* 1.1.31, *Letters to Atticus* 9.10.3, etc., Horace *Odes* 3.25.27–9, Livy 2.60.3, 4.42.3, 22.30.2–4; *RIC* 296. Exceptions include Cicero *For Sestius* 121, Horace *Odes* 1.2.50, and discussions of the use of *patres* as a synonym for “senators”; Alföldi, *Vater des Vaterlandes*, 41–9.

15 E.g., Richlin, “Julia’s Jokes,” 74 and Weinstock, *Divus Julius*, 204.

16 Saller, *Patriarchy*, 114–20; Harris, “Roman Father’s Power”; Thomas, “*Vitae necisque*.”

17 *Patriarchy*, 151 n. 62.

which celebrated, elaborated, and demonstrated the problems of this form of administration headed by a father. As such, 2 B.C.E. will be the focus of this chapter. First we will look at changes in the public status of Augustus' family heirs in and around this time. In 2 Augustus' younger son, Lucius, came of age, and thus in taking the title now Augustus deliberately underscored the possible dynastic implications of his paternal role. The public presentation of Tiberius, Gaius, and Lucius between 7 and 2 B.C.E. confirms that the concept of a political successor to Augustus' public role as *pater* was evolving. Next, we shall survey the forum of Augustus, a new civic space dedicated in the middle of 2 B.C.E. that celebrated the family of state and its present and future fathers in its architecture, decoration, and ceremonies. Finally, we shall conclude with an event perceived as a challenge to both the ideology and the practical authority of the *Pater Patriae*; Augustus' daughter Julia was condemned for adultery at the end of 2. In an examination the nature of the charges, the defendants, and the punishments they received, we will find sexual disloyalty to Augustus' house treated as treason. In these apparently disparate images and events, we can see that by 2 B.C.E. the family of Augustus had developed an unprecedentedly public role in the civic community, and that the predominant method of articulating Augustus' own status in that community was to call him father.

HEIRS AND SUCCESSORS

We have already seen in the last chapter some of the dynamics whereby Augustus' role in the administration of Rome and the empire became heritable. This is most apparent in the case of imperial slaves and freedmen, who would be inherited as private property by definition even though they were now functionally part of the government. In addition to inheriting the staff of public baths, administrators of Augustus' extensive properties, and managers of some provincial accounts, as the new head of household an heir would also in theory inherit the contacts, influence, and efforts of the other men and women of his family in protecting his position. In fact the title *Pater Patriae*, by using the specific term *pater* to represent Augustus' relationship with the state, in part formally recognized the heritability of that role. In this section, we will examine other public ways Augustus' sons and stepsons were presented as heirs in the period from 9 to 2 B.C.E. in the lead up to his acceptance of this evocative title.

When we investigated the question of heirs within Augustus' house in Chapter 3, I argued that even Tiberius' marriage to Julia in 12 B.C.E. did not mark him as Augustus' political successor. In the years following as well, even while Augustus' family was being increasingly used to consolidate his position in the community, all the young men of the household enjoyed an equal status with each other, despite their privileged status compared to other

aristocratic men.¹⁸ Augustus' stepsons Tiberius and Drusus thus both led armies on the Rhine and Danube borders, while among the next generation his adopted son Gaius made his first public appearance by following in their footsteps as a leader of the Troy Games in 13.¹⁹ No single heir was designated.

The public presentation of Drusus after his death in 9 B.C.E., however, reveals important changes in the conceptual relationship between Augustus' family and the civic community, and the potential consequences of these changes for the next generation. His death was treated as a disaster to both the family of Augustus and to the state. Augustus and Livia, Drusus' mother, went north to accompany the body back to Rome.²⁰ The funeral procession unprecedentedly included death masks of ancestors of his own family, the Claudii, and of the Julii, the *gens* of Augustus.²¹ Augustus delivered the funeral oration at the Circus Flaminius, Tiberius in the *Forum Romanum*.²² The *equites* carried the body to the Campus Martius, where Drusus was interred in the Mausoleum of Augustus.²³ Few indicators could communicate so clearly that he was conceptually part of Augustus' house, even though he was never adopted by Augustus, and that a role in this family was considered a role in society as well.

Indeed, although Drusus had won many hard-fought victories as a general of the Roman armies, his high public status at the time of his death was carefully linked to his position within Augustus' family. In addition to the presence of Augustus' family *imagines* in Drusus' funeral procession, Dio notes that the senate not only voted statues and an arch in honor of Drusus himself,²⁴ but also public statues and the legal status of a woman who had three children to his grieving mother Livia.²⁵ Livia and Julia had also provided a feast for prominent women when Drusus had recently celebrated his ovation and feasted "the people" on the Capitoline.²⁶ The success or commemoration of one young man was an opportunity to promote the public status of the entire family.

The next year, in 8 B.C.E., Gaius was introduced to the armies on the Rhine, where his leadership in equestrian games was celebrated on coins.²⁷ In 7 B.C.E.,

18 For anecdotes on the care Augustus and Livia took with the public image of young men of their family, see Dio 55.9.1–2 and Suetonius *Claudius* 4.

19 For the earlier leadership roles of Tiberius, Drusus, and Marcellus in these games, see above, Chapter 4.

20 Tacitus *Annals* 3.5, Dio 55.8.2, "Consolation to Livia" 33.

21 Tacitus *Annals* 3.5.

22 Dio 55.2.2; cf. Suetonius *Claudius* 1.5.

23 Dio 55.2.3, Suetonius *Claudius* 1.3.

24 55.2.3; cf. Suetonius *Claudius* 1.3.

25 55.2.5–6. For a detailed account of the poem *Consolatio ad Liviam de Morte Drusi*, "Consolation to Livia about the Death of Drusus," set at this time but perhaps composed later during the reign of Tiberius, Claudius, or even Nero, see Henk Schoonhoven, *The Pseudo-Ovidian Ad Liviam de Morte Drusi* (Groningen: Egbert Forsten, 1992).

26 Dio 55.2.4.

27 *RIC* 348.

Tiberius celebrated the first triumph in over ten years. As part of the celebrations, he dedicated public monuments such as the portico in honor of himself and his mother, and he feasted the people on the Capitoline, while Livia held a banquet for prominent women;²⁸ his glory was thus also carefully tied to his status within Augustus' family. Augustus' leadership role was maintained and underscored – Tiberius held his triumph on January 1,²⁹ the annual day on which Augustus had been given senatorial dispensation to wear triumphal garb. This same year Tiberius received a five-year grant of *tribunicia potestas*,³⁰ the only man to do so save Augustus and Agrippa. Finally, Augustus assigned him command of the eastern provinces and a special mission to Armenia and Parthia.³¹

Tiberius' official position in 7 B.C.E. was thus much like that of Agrippa before his death, but by this time the family had come a lot further in its development as a civic institution. It would be tempting to call Augustus' colleague, son-in-law, and stepson an heir in 7 B.C.E.,³² except that Augustus' own sons were approaching manhood. In turn, instead of going to the eastern frontier, Tiberius went into a cultured retirement on Rhodes.³³

We simply cannot know what motivated this action of Tiberius in 6 B.C.E. The unhappiness of his marriage to Julia,³⁴ the strain of his long military career,³⁵ political disagreements with Augustus,³⁶ and conflict with Augustus' adoptive sons over succession³⁷ have all been proposed. Even so, some observations are worth making. Augustus would not have sent him to command the eastern provinces if he were under any form of suspicion or disapproval.³⁸ Moreover, Tiberius' long stay on Rhodes seems to have taken Augustus by surprise. His voluntary visit was later enforced by Augustus, who took his "retirement" as a personal and political betrayal,³⁹ categories now hopelessly intertwined in the case of Augustus' family. Augustus actually made his return contingent upon the approval of Gaius,⁴⁰ which first set a clear hierarchy between them. Tiberius' *tribunicia potestas* was allowed to lapse in 2 B.C.E., and

28 Dio 55.8.2.

29 Dio 55.8.1.

30 Dio 55.9.4, Suetonius *Tiberius* 10.2, Velleius 2.99.2.

31 Dio 55.9.4.

32 Cf. Velleius 2.99.1–2.

33 Velleius 2.99.1–2, Suetonius *Tiberius* 10–11.1, Dio 55.9.5.

34 Dio 55.9.7, Suetonius *Tiberius* 10.1.

35 Velleius 2.99.2, Suetonius *Tiberius* 10.2.

36 Dio 55.9.6–7.

37 Suetonius *Tiberius* 10.1–2, Dio 55.9.6–7.

38 Syme, *Roman Revolution*, 342; G. W. Bowersock, "Augustus and the East: The Problem of Succession," in *Caesar Augustus: Seven Aspects*, eds Fergus Millar and Erich Segal (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984), 170–1.

39 Suetonius *Tiberius* 11.5–12.1, 10.2.

40 Suetonius *Tiberius* 13.2.

Suetonius reports that Livia's efforts got him appointed *legatus* "to cover the disgrace."⁴¹

Interestingly, however, Tiberius was allowed to return to Rome before Lucius' death in 2 C.E., although only on the condition that he not take part in public affairs.⁴² By tracing Tiberius' contacts and hints of local propaganda in the Greek east, Bowersock argues that Tiberius had become dangerous by this time and was preparing to make a stand against Gaius if anything happened to Augustus.⁴³ Tiberius certainly took the opportunity later to punish those who had shown him any disrespect during his stay on Rhodes.⁴⁴ Perhaps the most we can say is that Tiberius' status in 2 B.C.E. was uncertain.

Gaius and Lucius, on the other hand, began to be marked not just as heirs but as political successors very soon after Tiberius went to Rhodes in 6 B.C.E. In 5, Gaius took up the *toga virilis*.⁴⁵ Augustus celebrated his son's coming of age by holding the consulship himself for the first time in fifteen years and thus escorting his son to the forum and senate in an official capacity.⁴⁶ He also distributed money to the citizens to mark this event of family and state.⁴⁷ The senators designated a consulship for Gaius in 1 C.E. and gave him dispensation to participate in senatorial discussions, and the *equites* named Gaius *princeps iuventutis*, the "*princeps* of the youth."⁴⁸ Not only did a consensus of the ruling classes thus identify Gaius as an important future leader,⁴⁹ this specific title was formally bestowed upon him by his elite contemporaries, the *equites* or knights in the Roman army, who thereby signified or were made to signify their acceptance of an Augustus figure in the next generation. The same honors were bestowed upon Lucius in 2 B.C.E.,⁵⁰ the year of his fifteenth birthday. A coin struck in Lugdunum that year shows both sons of Augustus holding the silver shield and lance they had received from the *equites* below the legend, "sons of Augustus, consuls designate, *principes iuventutis*" (Figure 7.1).⁵¹ In this phrase, their familial relationship to Augustus is paralleled to a traditional magistracy and to a term newly developed to identify Augustus' position, *princeps* – it would be difficult to imagine a clearer way to name successors to Augustus' private and political estate.

Significantly, the obverse of those same coins celebrates Augustus as *Pater Patriae* (Figure 7.1). The two sides thus clarify the many resonances of this new

41 *Tiberius* 12.1.

42 Suetonius *Tiberius* 13.2–14.1, 15, Velleius 2.103.1.

43 Bowersock, "Augustus and the East"; cf. Suetonius *Tiberius* 14.4, *Palatine Anthology* 9.287.

44 Dio 57.17.3–5, Tacitus *Annals* 3.48; Bowersock, "Augustus and the East," 178–9.

45 Dio 55.9.9.

46 Suetonius *Augustus* 26.2.

47 Augustus *Res Gestae* 15.

48 *Res Gestae* 14; cf. Dio 55.9.9.

49 Eder, "Augustus and Tradition," 121.

50 *Res Gestae* 14–15, Dio 55.9.10.

51 *RIC* 350.



Figure 7.1 Silver denarius from Lugdunum mint celebrating Augustus' title *Pater Patriae*. The obverse boasts a laureate portrait of Augustus, titled "CAESAR AVGVSTVS DIVI F PATER PATRIAE," "Caesar Augustus, Son of a God, Father of the Fatherland." The reverse shows Gaius and Lucius with the military equipment they received from the *equites* and titled "AVGVSTI F COS DESIG PRINC IVVENT," "Sons of Augustus, Consuls Designate, *Principes* of the Youth." RIC 206, BMC Augustus 533. American Numismatic Society 1941.131.678, museum photo.

title. In 2 B.C.E., Augustus became the father of two adult sons, who were marked as heirs to the administrative staff, contacts, and wealth their family provided, as well as successors to the official and political roles of their father. Augustus himself was in many ways the "Father of his Country."

ART AND CEREMONY: THE *FORUM AUGUSTUM*

This title and all its evocations were celebrated and elaborated in a new public *Forum Augustum* dedicated on May 12, 2 B.C.E.⁵² The huge colonnaded square ran perpendicular to the Forum of Julius Caesar on the side opposite the *Forum Romanum*,⁵³ and its northern end was filled with the monumental Temple of Mars Ultor, Mars the Avenger (Figure 7.2). The temple, pavements, colonnades, and walls were decorated with colored stones and marbles from all over the empire, along with an elaborate sculptural program and other carefully selected artwork.⁵⁴ Pliny considered it one of the three most beautiful buildings in Rome.⁵⁵

52 *Feriale Cumanum*, *Fasti Maffeiiani*, *Feriale Duranum*, CIL I² p. 263, Ovid *Fasti* 5.545–98. C. J. Simpson, "The Date of the Dedication of the Temple of Mars Ultor," *Journal of Roman Studies* 67 (1977): 91–4, has convincingly dated the dedication of the forum and temple and the subsequent celebration of the anniversary games to May 12, *contra* Dio 60.5.3. The date may have been chosen in reference to the *natalis* of Mars Invictus on the 14th; Gagé, *Res Gestae*, 173.

53 The juncture between the fora still lies, unexcavated, below the modern Via dei Fori Imperiali. For more on the archeological remains, see Richardson, *Topographical Dictionary*, 160–2; I. Gismondi, "Foro di Augusto," *Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica del Comune di Roma* 90 (1985): 341–61; and Paul Zanker, *Forum Augustum* (Tübingen: E. Wasmuth, 1968).

54 Pliny *Natural History* 35.27, 93–4; 7.183.

55 *Natural History* 36.102.

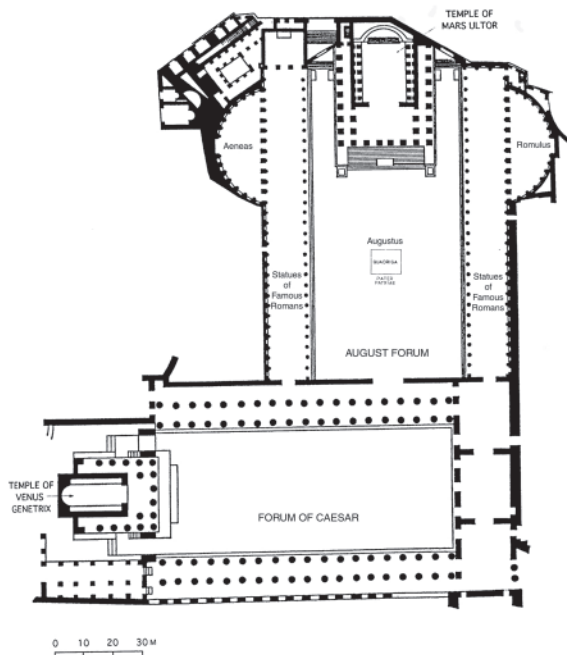


Figure 7.2 Plan of the *Forum Augustum* and Forum of Caesar, adapted from H. Kähler, *Der römische Tempel* (Berlin: Gebr. Mann Verlag, 1970), Figure 6.

We do not know when work was begun, but Suetonius reports construction was rushed at the end and the dedication was held before the temple was completed.⁵⁶ Octavian had vowed a temple to Mars the Avenger on the battlefield at Philippi in 42 B.C.E.,⁵⁷ but we have no evidence for plans of a real structure until the return of the Parthian standards in 19 B.C.E. and their “temporary” dedication in a temple on the Capitoline before the shrine to Mars was built.⁵⁸ The opening of the forum in 2 B.C.E. was marked with the celebration of circus games in honor of Mars,⁵⁹ and a whole set of civic ceremonies were assigned to take place here, including public law cases, the dedication of triumphal spoils and recovered military standards, departures of governors to provinces, senatorial deliberations on war and the awarding of triumphs,⁶⁰ the closing of the census, part of boys’ coming-of-age ceremonies, and an annual cavalry festival.⁶¹

⁵⁶ *Augustus* 29.1; Macrobius *Saturnalia* 2.4.9.

⁵⁷ Suetonius *Augustus* 29.2, Ovid *Fasti* 5.569–78.

⁵⁸ Dio 54.8.3; cf. *RIC* 288.

⁵⁹ Ovid *Fasti* 5.597–8.

⁶⁰ Suetonius *Augustus* 29.1–2.

⁶¹ Dio 55.10.2–5.

Scholars have found a variety of important themes in the art, architecture, and events of the new forum, including comparisons of Rome with classical Athens and of the new forum and temple with the republican *Forum Romanum* and Capitoline.⁶² We should also notice the many overt references to the traditional associations of the title “Parent of the Fatherland” discussed earlier, such as the depiction of the *corona civica* on the shield of the cult statue⁶³ and the prominence of the founders of Rome, Aeneas and Romulus. However, one particular theme is most relevant to our investigation – the familial context of the presentation of Augustus and his heirs as the culmination of Rome’s civic, military, and religious history. A combination of public and private historical references, rituals, and imagery within this new civic space presented Augustus as the ultimate *pater*.

A prominent example of this interweaving of public and private is found in the god to whom the complex is dedicated. Mars Ultor was set up to be the “avenger” of both a personal and a national wrong – the murder of Octavian’s father Caesar and the loss of legionary standards to the Parthians.⁶⁴ The ground itself negotiated these spheres in a similar way. Augustus asserts “in privato solo Martis Ultoris templum forumque Augustum ex manibiis feci,” “on private land I built the Temple of Mars the Avenger and the August Forum out of the spoils of war.”⁶⁵ A forum was the most public and shared space of Roman society, however, and the functions prescribed for the *Forum Augustum* confirm its continuation of this tradition.⁶⁶ In addition, our evidence suggests that Augustus took a very personal interest in the decoration and arrangement of this new civic space.⁶⁷ The only item, in fact, known to have been added by the senate or any other official body at the forum’s inception was the statue of Augustus in a chariot, erected in the center of the forum square, facing the temple, and labeled “Pater Patriae.”⁶⁸

Augustus was also defined as the father of the state, and Rome as part of his *familia*, in the decoration of the colonnades of the *Forum Augustum*. The back wall of the colonnade along the long sides of the forum was broken by rectangular niches framed by engaged columns. These niches probably held the statues of the great men of Roman history known to have been erected here (Figure 7.3).⁶⁹ From the remains of the accompanying inscriptions of the

62 Bowersock, “Augustus and the East,” 174–6; Marianne Bonnefond, “Transferts de fonctions et mutation idéologique: le Capitole et le Forum d’Auguste,” in *L’urbs: espace urbain et histoire. Collection de l’École Française de Rome* 98 (1987): 251–78.

63 Zanker, *Power of Images*, 201, Fig. 151.

64 Suetonius *Augustus* 29.2, Ovid *Fasti* 5.569–96.

65 *Res Gestae* 21.

66 Dio 55.10.

67 Suetonius *Augustus* 56.2, Pliny *Natural History* 22.13, Gellius 9.11.10.

68 *Res Gestae* 35, Velleius 2.39.

69 Suetonius *Augustus* 31.5, *Historia Augusta: Alexander Severus* 28.



Figure 7.3 Reconstruction of the colonnade of the August Forum, including a statue of one of the great men, after A. Degrassi, *Inscriptiones Italiae* 13.3 (Rome: Libreria dello Stato, 1937), 4.

accomplishments of each,⁷⁰ we can identify a group of members of the Julian family (6–7), Alban kings (1–5), and a long list of Roman notables (10–18, 60–4, 79–84, 86), including Romulus (86), Camillus (61), L. Aemilius Paullus (81), Marius (17, 85), Sulla (19), and others.

Suetonius notes that these statues of Roman leaders formed part of Augustus' honoring of those "qui imperium p. R. ex minimo maximum reddidissent," "who had made the sovereignty of the Roman people, from the smallest, the greatest."⁷¹ By including even obscure members of the Julian *gens* among these

70 Degrassi, *Elogia*. Those found in the forum itself are increased by those from a copy of the Augustan forum in Arezzo. The two surviving *elogia* of Marius (Degrassi, *Elogia*, 17, 85) demonstrate by their identical wording the applicability of the Arezzo examples. For an analysis of the likely source(s) for these short life histories, see T. J. Luce, "Livy, Augustus, and the Forum Augustum," in *Between Republic and Empire. Interpretations of Augustus and his Principate*, eds Kurt A. Raafaub and Mark Toher (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), 129–38.

71 *Augustus* 31.5.

national heroes, such as Caesar's father (7), who had obtained only a praetorship, Augustus presented his family as historically special and marked for greatness. Such a message was aided by the long-term claim of the Julians to descent from Aeneas, and Aeneas and the other Alban kings were displayed near the Julians in the forum.⁷² The whole array of statues would have recalled the collection of similar pieces which had been erected over time in the area of the *Forum Romanum* and the Capitoline,⁷³ and thus the August Forum presented a revised and personalized form of that monumental civic history.⁷⁴

Another space significant to the Romans, however, was also decorated with rows of portraits – the aristocratic atrium. Here masks of deceased family members were kept in small shrines with appended inscriptions identifying the portrayed and his accomplishments.⁷⁵ These *imagines* were made only of prominent individuals.⁷⁶ The masks were used in funeral processions of important members of the family, but also served as everyday reminders of the family's glorious past to living members of the household, their friends, and dependants.⁷⁷ This hall of fame could also come in the form of painted images, full-size statues, and portraits displayed on shields, *imagines clipeatae*.⁷⁸

Many elements of the statues in the *Forum Augustum* recall this atrium decor, including the row of portraits in niches, the lists of accomplishments, and the prominence of those displayed. Moreover, in the forum, huge shields with human faces were carved into the attic space above the niches and between the famous caryatid columns (Figure 7.4). Although the surviving example bears the image of Jupiter Ammon, these shields evoked the *imagines clipeatae* used in family atria. By incorporating men from so many different actual families into this hall of fame, the August Forum became the atrium of the family of Rome.

Augustus' stated aim for these statues, as reported by Suetonius, makes the analogy with the *imagines* clear, as it matches Polybius' account of these ancestral masks:

There could not be a more beautiful or ennobling sight for a young man eager for fame and respect. For who would not be inspired to see the images of those men renowned for their excellence? . . . The greatest result is that young men are thus inspired to undertake

72 Ovid *Fasti* 5.563–6.

73 Bonnefond, "Transferts de fonctions," 260.

74 Zanker, *Power of Images*, 210–15.

75 Polybius 6.53, Pliny *Natural History* 35.6; see Flower, *Ancestor Masks*, 159–222.

76 Polybius 6.53, Cicero *Against Verres* 2.5.36, *Letters to Friends* 9.21; Rowell, "Forum and Funeral," 133–6.

77 Polybius 6.53.

78 Juvenal 8.2, Tacitus *Annals* 11.38, Pliny *Natural History* 35.12–13; cf. Flowers, *Ancestor Masks*, 40–6.

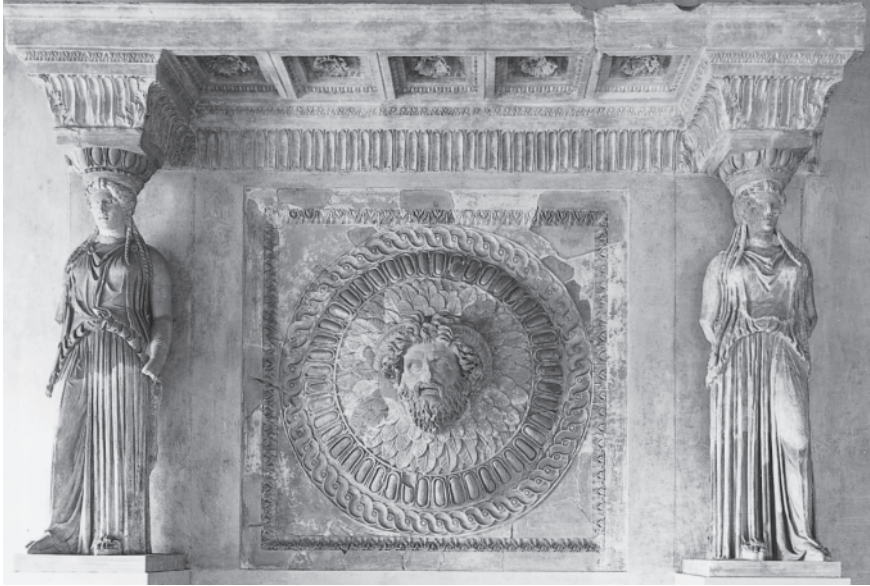


Figure 7.4 An example of the shields with portraits in the attic decoration of the colonnade of the August Forum. Photo by Koppermann, courtesy of the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Rome, 61.1059.

anything for the public good in the hope of winning the glory that attends on brave men.⁷⁹

[Augustus] . . . statuas . . . dedicavit, professus et edicto: commentum id se, ut ad illorum vitam velut ad exemplar et ipse, dum viveret, et insequentium aetatum principes exigerentur a civibus.

[Augustus] dedicated . . . the statues, also having declared by edict: this is a device whereby I, while I am living, and the *principes* of future generations may be held by the citizens to the life and example of those men.⁸⁰

Quite appropriately for a family monument, it is not all of the citizens whom Augustus asks to follow these *exempla* of old, but the master of the house in question and his descendants. Augustus is of course identified as the *pater* of this house of Rome on the base of the statue in the center of these two rows of

⁷⁹ Polybius 6. 53.9–54.4.

⁸⁰ Suetonius *Augustus* 31.5.

ancestors. Finally, if any of this symbolism of the forum was unclear, it was forcefully reiterated at Augustus' funeral twelve years later, where not just the *imagines* of his own family were carried, but also "those of other Romans who had been prominent in any way, beginning with Romulus."⁸¹

According to the model of the aristocratic house, after passing through the *imagines*-bearing atrium we should find the office where the head of the household welcomed guests and clients. Access to and the presentation of both the far end of the *Forum Augustum* and the traditional *tablinum* were carefully controlled so that the spectator first viewed them head on and framed by symmetrical architectural features. Instead of an office or receiving room, however, the forum held the Temple of Mars Ultor. But the collection of cult figures and decorations associated with the temple reveal that it is a shrine of the divine family of Rome.

Like the Capitolium, the Temple of Mars the Avenger held three cult statues – Mars himself flanked by Venus and the deified Julius Caesar. These are the divine parents of the three founder/savior/fathers of Rome, namely Romulus, Aeneas, and Augustus, who were prominently displayed outside the temple in the two exedra and in the center of the courtyard respectively (Figure 7.2). A relief of the cult statues, shown in Figure 7.5, reveals the paternal image used for Mars, with a full beard and aged features, unlike traditional Mars/Ares iconography,⁸² as well as an unusual, fully clothed, matronly appearance for Venus. Caesar's participation in the triad not only mixed traditional gods with a new one from Augustus' family, but also revealed, through the Julian name, the genealogical ties of all the founders through Aeneas' son Iulus and Romulus' mother Ilia.⁸³ The statue of *Imperator* Gaius Julius Caesar Augustus, labeled *Pater Patriae* and located in the center of the cross-axis of human father/founders outside the temple, continually led the resulting family of state in worship of these divine parents.

Ceremonies specifically established for the forum and temple reiterated the special role of Augustus and his heirs in this civic space and in Rome in general.⁸⁴ For example, the decree specified that Augustus and his sons should be the only ones with open access to the temple.⁸⁵ This privilege was reemphasized in the stipulation that all triumphators dedicate certain spoils to Mars Ultor,⁸⁶ since the celebration of triumphs had now for many years been restricted to members of Augustus' house. Over time, the temple in practice

81 Dio 56.34.2.

82 Zanker, *Power of Images*, 198–200.

83 Rhea Silvia was sometimes called Ilia in Augustan literature; e.g., Dionysius of Halicarnassus 1.77.1. See Alföldi, *Vater des Vaterlandes*, 2–13.

84 Bonnefond, "Transferts de fonctions"; Suetonius *Augustus* 29.2, Dio 55.10.2–5.

85 Dio 55.10.2.

86 Dio 55.10.3.



Figure 7.5 Relief depicting the cult statues of the Temple of Mars Ultor: Venus, Mars, and the deified Julius Caesar. Algiers, Musée Nationale d'Antiquités. Photo Alinari/Art Resource, New York, 47176; cf. Capitoline Museum inv. 58. Zanker, *Power of Images*, Figure 155.

became a place where the imperial family worshiped⁸⁷ and was worshiped,⁸⁸ very much like the family shrines within a Roman household.

We should return briefly to the images of Romulus and Aeneas, since they are set up as historical models and parallels for Augustus, their relative and the newest founder/savior/father. As noted above, these most prominent of the so-called “summi viri,” “great men,”⁸⁹ each occupied a large central niche in one of the colonnade’s two exedra. Aeneas was of course both the father of the entire *gens Romana*, the “clan of the Romans,” and in particular the father of the *gens Julia*, “the clan of the Julii.”⁹⁰ Thus, Aeneas embodied both the familial tie of all Romans and the specialness of the Julians within that larger clan. To

87 Suetonius *Claudius* 13.1.

88 *Fasti Fratrum Arvalium*; Taylor, *Divinity*, 202.

89 *Historia Augustus: Alexander Severus* 28.

90 Vergil *Aeneid* 1.257–96, 6.755–853.

emphasize his paternity in particular, Aeneas is depicted in the forum in a familial context. Although the statue of him from the August Forum does not survive, paintings of him and Romulus from a house facade in Pompeii are thought to be copies (Figure 7.6). Aeneas is shown at the moment of his escape from Troy, clad in a Roman cuirass, leading his son Iulus and carrying his father Anchises, who holds a box of the *Penates* in his hands.⁹¹ Aeneas thus presents the quintessential image of *pietas*, loyalty toward the members of his family and his family gods, both of which are destined to become part of the Roman state. The parallel with Augustus is strong on all counts, since he has made careful provision for his two sons, established worship of his divinized father, and protectively brought the state *Penates* into his own house.⁹² Moreover, Augustus' legislation on marriage and adultery had encouraged everyone to respect the Roman family values symbolized by Aeneas, his familial and political forefather and the father of the *gens Romana*.

Such a close interpretation of the image of Aeneas is not overwrought, since many of the details are known to have been added deliberately. A coin minted for Octavian in 42 B.C.E. also shows Aeneas escaping Troy, but Aeneas is shown in Greek heroic nudity carrying a frightened Anchises (Figure 7.7). In the forum statue, in contrast, Anchises' veiled head – the traditional pose for a Roman man performing a religious rite – his box of *Penates*, the presence of Iulus, and Aeneas' military dress have been added to the scene and give a much more Augustan context to the image and message.

Romulus, in turn, had been called the “father of Rome” since at least Ennius in the late third or early second century B.C.E.: “O pater, o genitor, o sanguen dis oriundum,” “O father, o sire, o blood risen from the gods.”⁹³ According to the Pompeian wall-painting (Figure 7.6) and Ovid's brief description,⁹⁴ however, Romulus was depicted in the August Forum carrying a spear and a trophy, that is, celebrating the first Roman triumph.⁹⁵ Romulus' role as the original *triumphator* had been celebrated in the *Fasti* recorded by the senate in 19 B.C.E.⁹⁶ “King Romulus, the son of Mars,” was thus the “father of the city and of *virtus*,” “manliness.”⁹⁷ His most prominent heir, of course, was Augustus, whose triple triumph was memorialized by the structure upon which those *Fasti* were inscribed.

The forum pointed to Augustus and his relatives as the culmination of Romulus' legacy, since here Augustus took over both the role of *pater* and of guarantor of victory. As noted above, only men of Augustus' family celebrated

91 Cf. Ovid *Fasti* 5.563–6, Vergil *Aeneid* 2.699–756.

92 On state and family *Penates*, see above, Chapter 5.

93 *Annals* 113V; cf. Propertius 4.10.

94 *Fasti* 5.563–6.

95 Zanker, *Power of Images*, 202–3.

96 Zanker, *Power of Images*, 203; *Fasti Consulares*.

97 Propertius 4.10.



Figure 7.6 Paintings from the facade of a house in Pompeii (IX.13.5), thought to reflect the statues of Romulus and Aeneas in the August Forum. After G. E. Rizzo, *La Pittura ellenistico-romana* (Milan: Fratelli Treves, 1929), plate 194; photo used by permission of the Italian Ministry for Cultural Heritage and Environment.



Figure 7.7 Aureus of 42 B.C.E. The obverse carries a portrait of Octavian; the reverse (shown here) depicts a nude Aeneas carrying his father Anchises. *RRC* 494/3. Photo © Copyright The British Museum.

triumphs, and they were compelled to dedicate part of their triumphal spoils to Mars Ultor;⁹⁸ this space helped them reiterate their unique responsibility for the military and for victory. In addition, all men departing for commands abroad were to leave from the forum, and the senate was to meet in this temple to discuss the awarding of triumphs and triumphal honors.⁹⁹ Thus, the *Forum*

⁹⁸ Dio 55.10.2–3.

⁹⁹ Dio 55.10.2–3.

Augustum became the focal point for state military activity, and all such activity therefore occurred within this carefully constructed ideological space under the authority of Augustus and his relations. Provision was made that this continue into the future: statues of all *triumphators* and those who had been awarded triumphal honors were to be added to the forum.¹⁰⁰ All of Rome's past and future heroes were thus subsumed into the family of state of which Augustus was not just *imperator*, but *pater*, like Romulus.

In Augustus' ability to be both Aeneas and Romulus, however, of all the figures in the forum he most resembles Mars. The two images of the god present in the forum display both roles. As noted above and shown in Figure 7.5, inside the temple the main cult figure is depicted with a paternal beard. The tiny Cupid between him and Venus is handing his mother Mars' sword, while the shield of Mars prominently bears the *corona civica*; this is an unarmed Mars of peace and civic accord.¹⁰¹ The figure of this divinity in the center of the temple's pediment, however, known from a Claudian relief (Figure 7.8), is shown heroically nude and supporting himself with a spear in the mode of a Hellenistic ruler, with his foot on a globe and a scepter in his hand. The Mars outside the temple is the god of mastery, victory, and war. Since Augustus is also both peaceful protector and triumphant conqueror, on the model of Aeneas and Romulus respectively, he is subtly likened to father Mars.

The other ceremonies created for the new forum space articulate other aspects of Augustus' relationship to the community. Dio records that boys being enrolled among those of military age were to visit the temple, that the cavalry commanders were to celebrate an annual festival at its steps, the censors were to drive a nail into the temple at the close of their terms, and senators were permitted to contract to supply the horses for the circus games and had general charge of the temple.¹⁰² These ceremonies relate to the other important political monopoly Augustus maintained for his family – the holding of the census.¹⁰³

The census was a counting and evaluating of the citizen body which had been held since at least the early republic.¹⁰⁴ Among other duties, the censors determined on economic and moral grounds to which class or order individuals belonged, maintained records of these assignments, and oversaw the rituals which protected this ordered civic body and mustered it as a citizen army on the Campus Martius. The censor's nail-driving ceremony of the Temple of Mars Ultor was created on analogy with the nail traditionally hammered into the Capitoline temple by the annual consuls, but the ritual was herein transformed into a means of closing the *lustrum*, the sacred period of

100 Dio 55.10.2–3; cf. Suetonius *Augustus* 31.5, Pliny *Natural History* 22.13, Gellius 9.11.10.

101 Zanker, *Power of Images*, 196–8.

102 55.10.2–5.

103 Bonnefond, "Transferts de fonctions," 261–70.

104 On the census and its sociopolitical significance in the republic, see Nicolet, *World of the Citizen*, 49–88.



Figure 7.8 Fragment of the “Ara Pietatis” relief, depicting the pediment decoration of the Temple of Mars Ultor in the August Forum. Museo della Civiltà Romana, Rome. Photo by Rossa, courtesy of the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Rome, 77.1741.

the census.¹⁰⁵ Much of Augustus’ legislation – on marriage, adultery, the control of manumission and the citizen status of ex-slaves, for example – was censorial in nature, but might also be seen as paternal, since the laws regulated familial behaviors. The association of the census with this space in which Augustus was presented so forcefully as a *pater* furthered the identification of these roles.

Moreover, the visit to Mars Ultor paid by young men suggests a special religious ceremony was created out of their first enrollment into the censor’s military lists.¹⁰⁶ These lists were kept in the *atrium libertatis*, located to the north of the *Forum Augustum*, under the later Basilica Ulpia and connected by portico to the Altar of Mars on the Campus Martius where the census was held.¹⁰⁷ This enrollment among the military lists was part of a boy’s larger coming-of-age ceremony, which already had private and public aspects. Upon reaching the age of fourteen or fifteen, a boy would dedicate his child’s amulet and clothing to the family *lares* in his home and then be led to the Roman forum and Capitoline hill to make sacrifices and be enrolled among the lists of

105 Cf. Livy 7.3.5–8, Bonnefond, “Transferts de fonctions,” 265–6.

106 Bonnefond, “Transferts de fonctions,” 264–5.

107 Livy 35.10.12, 43.16.13, 45.15.5, Granius Licinianus 28.36, Cicero *Letters to Atticus* 4.16.14; Nicolet, *World of the Citizen*, 63–4; Richardson, *Topographical Dictionary*, 41.

citizens.¹⁰⁸ The new ceremony in the *Forum Augustum* did not replace the sacrifice on the Capitoline,¹⁰⁹ but added a new element. The new, larger event thus included the August Forum in an important and traditional juncture point between family and society in the life cycle of the Roman male citizen. At the moment when each young Roman man stepped from his private family and home into the wider civic community, represented by the *Forum Romanum* and the Capitoline Temple, he now also stepped into this imperial forum and the ideological family created here. In a sense, by coming here as part of their adulthood ceremony, all Rome's sons were adopted by the *Pater Patriae* in a manner not unlike his adoption of all of Rome's ancestors.

The other ceremonies of the August Forum reinforced these personal and political ties between Augustus and Roman citizen men, particularly citizens of the higher census classes. For example, the "cavalry commanders" were to hold an annual festival on the steps of the temple.¹¹⁰ These must be the *seviri equitum*, squad commanders in the reorganized cavalry chosen from the sons of senators who had not yet held their first political office.¹¹¹ The cavalry commanders thus represented the cream of Roman young manhood as well as the larger census and social class of the *equites*. Although the nature of this particular festival is unclear,¹¹² the ceremony served to honor this whole group and tie their special status to the *Forum Augustum*. The senate also received special privileges and roles which joined their personal interests to Mars Ultor and his family, since they were permitted to compete for the high-profile contracts to supply horses for the circus games and were given general caretakership of the temple.¹¹³ Thus, the citizen body in all its constituent parts was tied to Augustus the father in this space.

However, Augustus is not alone in the inherited leadership of Rome presented in the art and ceremony of the *Forum Augustum*. Recall that in describing the purpose of the *summi viri*, Augustus called on the people to hold himself and "future *principes*" to their example.¹¹⁴ The other roles of Gaius and Lucius in the forum clarified even more strongly the fact that Augustus now assumed his heir would inherit his role in society. Lucius, Augustus' younger son, came of age in 2 B.C.E. and likely was among the first to celebrate the associated rite in the new forum. The timing of both Augustus' acceptance of

108 Valerius Maximus 5.4.4, Servius 5.40, Appian *Civil Wars* 4.30, Dionysius of Halicarnassus 4.15.5; Bonnefond, "Transferts de fonctions," 263–5; Harmon, "Family Festivals," 1597–8.

109 See Suetonius *Claudius* 2.5.

110 Dio 55.10.4.

111 Taylor, "*Seviri Equitum*," 162; Bonnefond, "Transferts de fonctions," 267; cf. *CIL* 6.3835.

112 Taylor, *Divinity*, 202, suggests it may have been part of the *Ludi Sevirales* or *Martiales*, while Bonnefond, "Transferts de fonctions," 267–8, adds the possibility of the *transvectio equitum*, a cavalry review revived by Augustus; cf. Suetonius *Augustus* 38.3, Dio 62.13.3, Plutarch *Pompey* 22.

113 Dio 55.10.5.

114 Suetonius *Augustus* 31.5.

the title *Pater Patriae* and his rush to dedicate the August Forum may well have been affected by the approaching adulthood of his second son.

Both of Augustus' sons may have participated in the dedication ceremony itself, since they had been granted special consular powers to enable them to do so and were granted open access to the temple.¹¹⁵ They led the cavalry games at the opening of the temple, while Augustus' youngest grandson, Agrippa Postumus, led the boys' Troy Games.¹¹⁶ The leadership roles of Augustus' adopted sons were quite explicit: as noted earlier, Gaius had been named *princeps iuventutis*, "Foremost of the Youth," by the *equites* upon his coming of age in 5 B.C.E., and Lucius joined him now.¹¹⁷ On some inscriptions Gaius is even called *designatus princeps*.¹¹⁸ Finally, Gaius was the first commander to depart from the *Forum Augustum* and the Temple of Mars Ultor on a major military expedition. In 2 B.C.E., shortly after marrying his cousin Livilla, Gaius left on his first command – to put another pro-Roman prince on the Armenian throne and negotiate with the new king of Parthia. Traveling through the eastern provinces, he was openly hailed as the "new Mars."¹¹⁹

In his *Art of Love*, published in about 2 B.C.E., Ovid offered a prayer on Gaius' departure that largely confirms this interpretation of Augustus and his sons' contemporary public roles and how they were articulated:

Ecce, parat Caesar domito quod defuit orbi
 Addere: nunc, oriens ultime, noster eris.
 Parthe, dabis poenas: Crassi gaudete sepulti . . .
 Ultor adest, primisque ducem profitetur in annis,
 Bellaque non puero tractat agenda puer . . .
 Auspiciis annisque patris, puer, arma movebis,
 Et vinces annis auspiciisque patris:
 Tale rudimentum tanto sub nomine debes,
 Nunc iuvenum princeps, deinde future senum;
 Cum tibi sint fratres, fratres ulciscere laesos:
 Cumque pater tibi sit, iura tuere patris.
 Induit arma tibi genitor patriaeque tuusque . . .
 Marsque pater, Caesarque pater, date numen eunti,
 Nam deus e vobis alter es, alter eris.

Behold, Caesar [Augustus] is preparing to add to the world he has
 conquered
 Soon, far east, you will be ours,

115 Dio 55.10.6.

116 Dio 55.10.6.

117 On the association of the cavalry with the *Iuventus*, see Taylor, "*Seviri Equitum*."

118 *CIL* 11.1420, 1421.

119 *IG* II².3250.

Parthia, you will pay: Buried Crassi, rejoice! . . .
 Avenger is here, a leader acknowledged to be in his early prime,
 A boy who manages the wars not to be tackled by a boy . . .
 Through the auspices and years of father, boy, you will take up arms,
 And you will conquer through the auspices and arms of father.
 You ought to have such a beginning under so great a name,
Princeps of the youth now, *princeps* of the elders in the future.
 Since you have brothers, avenge brothers wronged,
 Since you have a great father, protect the rights of father.
 He summons you to arms, the begetter both of the fatherland and of
 you . . .
 Father Mars, Father Caesar, give your divine power to him who is
 leaving,
 For one of you is a god, the other will be.¹²⁰

First, notice the emphasis on paternity. Not only does it define the hierarchical relationship of Gaius to Augustus, it explains that Gaius' importance results from being the son of such a man – both in terms of why he is leading troops so young and why he will be successful. Both Gaius and Augustus are also tied to “Father Mars” through this evocation of familial relationships, as well as through Gaius' status as an “avenger” and Caesar Augustus' destiny to be a fellow god. Ovid interprets Gaius' title *princeps iuventutis* to indicate that he will be a *princeps* like Augustus in the future. Finally, Ovid evokes the idea of a family of Rome; Gaius is being sent east to avenge defeated Romans who are called his “brothers.”

The *Forum Augustum*, from which Gaius set out and which informed Ovid's depiction of this event, is a great monument to Roman nationalism, filled with the faces and deeds of the city's legendary, historical, and anticipated heroes. Moreover, Rome is presented there as a family – with celebrated divine and human, past and present fathers with carefully delineated genealogical ties. The forum also singles out one branch of the family of state, the Julii, as destined for special greatness, and one man, Augustus, as the current *pater* of both the *gens Julia* and the *gens Romana*. A Roman family had a clear hierarchy, and the *pater* of such a family had a set of privileges, duties, and obligations to his dependants. The ceremonies of the August Forum respected these and in so doing gave a role and an experience to every male citizen within this atrium of the family of Rome.

The new forum can best be interpreted, in fact, as a completely new kind of civic space, reflecting a different conception of the *res publica* and formed from a combination of traditionally distinct public and private spaces. In imagery and in ceremonies, the August Forum negotiated between the public side of

120 1.177–204.

aristocratic life, which occupied the forum, senate house, and Capitoline, and private life, centered on the atrium house. These three – the *Forum Romanum* and related buildings, the aristocratic *domus*, and the *Forum Augustum*, representing the public, the private, and the new combination which was the imperial government – in fact became the focal points of Augustan Rome. The senate was given special charge of the Temples of Jupiter Optimus Maximus on the Capitoline, of Apollo Palatinus built into Augustus' house, and of Mars Ultor in the *Forum Augustum*.¹²¹ The three statues of Augustus in his funeral procession were carried out of the senate house, his palace, and the imperial forum.¹²² The coming-of-age ceremony of each Roman man now moved from his own home to the republican forum to the *Forum Augustum*. And, finally,

Tertium decimum consulatum cum gerebam, senatus et equester ordo populusque Romanus universus appellavit me patrem patriae idque in vestibulo aedium mearum inscribendum et in curia et in foro Aug. sub quadrigis, que mihi ex s.c. positae sunt, decrevit.

While I was conducting my thirteenth consulship, the senate and the equestrian order and the whole Roman people named me Father of the Fatherland, and decreed that this be inscribed in the entrance to my house, in the senate house, and in the August Forum under the chariot which was set there for me by decree of the senate.¹²³

The imagery and activities in the *Forum Augustum* changed the Roman experience of traditionally public and private spaces and combined them to present a new conception of the state in which a *pater* headed the *res publica*.

SEXUAL TREASON AND OTHER FAMILY PROBLEMS

Before we kill off Augustus and look at the first inheritance of this newly conceived *res publica*, however, we need to consider some events after the dedication of the forum which nearly killed him prematurely. The most controversial is the condemnation of his daughter Julia for adultery towards the end of the eventful year of 2 B.C.E. Modern scholars have found everything from a plot on Augustus' life¹²⁴ to a conspiracy to eliminate Julia from the

121 Dio 55.10.5.

122 Dio 56.34.1.

123 Augustus *Res Gestae* 35.

124 Jérôme Carcopino, *Passion et politique chez les Césars* (Paris: Hachette, 1958), 129; Eckhard Meise, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der iulisch-klaudische Dynastie* (Munich: Beck, 1969), 25.

imperial court¹²⁵ in the accounts of the scandal.¹²⁶ My aim will be to show that, in accordance with all ancient references to the case,¹²⁷ the crime committed was adultery, but that the crime was considered a violation of the public image and the idea of Augustus' family, which in turn has given it the political undertones onto which conspiracy theorists have latched. The response to the adultery charge against Julia thus confirms the ideological interweaving of Augustus' family with the state, as well as revealing some of the problems associated with this development of an imperial family.

Julia's profligacy is widely reported in our sources, with instances extending back to her marriage with Agrippa and producing popular stories.¹²⁸ Dio believed that Augustus had suspicions about his daughter's conduct, but refused to acknowledge them until certain actions came to his attention.¹²⁹ Several sources detail this precipitating event, which involved a number of partners and various sexual activities in the *Forum Romanum* near the rostra and a famous statue of Marsyas.¹³⁰ Augustus reacted to these stories with great anger.¹³¹ After considering killing Julia, Augustus divorced her from Tiberius, banished her to an island with the simplest accommodation, himself retreated from public view, and sent a report on the scandal to the senate.¹³² Several of her alleged lovers were also banished, and one ended up dead, either by suicide or execution.¹³³ No details are known about their trials, if there were any.

Exile was the punishment established for adultery by Augustus' law of 18 B.C.E., so the descriptions of the scandal and the punishments received by most of those involved conspire to confirm that the crime in question was sex between a legally married woman and a man who was not her husband. Tacitus, however, makes the interesting comment that Augustus was so angry:

125 Syme, *Roman Revolution*, 427 and "The Crisis of 2 B.C.," in *Roman Papers*, ed. Anthony R. Birley (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984), 3:923–36; V. Gardthausen, *Augustus und seine Zeit* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1891), 1.1101.

126 For a detailed analysis of the various conspiracy theories and the scandal, to which my account is heavily indebted, see A. Ferrill, "Augustus and his Daughter: a Modern Myth," in *Studies in Latin Literature and Roman History*, ed. Carl Deroux (Brussels: Latomus, 1980), 332–46.

127 Velleius 2.100.2–5, Seneca *On Benefactions* 6.32.1, *On Clemency* 1.10.3, *On the Briefness of Life* 4.6, Pliny *Natural History* 7.149, 21.9, Tacitus *Annals* 1.53.1, 3.24.2, 4.44.3, Suetonius *Augustus* 65.1, *Tiberius* 11.4, Dio 55.12–16, Macrobius *Saturnalia* 2.5.

128 Suetonius *Tiberius* 7.2, Pliny *Natural History* 7.45, Macrobius *Saturnalia* 2.5.4–9. For an analysis of the jokes about Julia recorded in Macrobius and how they challenge Augustus and his ideology, see Richlin, "Julia's Jokes."

129 55.10.12–13; cf. Macrobius *Saturnalia* 2.5.4.

130 Dio 55.10.12, Pliny *Natural History* 21.9, Seneca *On Benefactions* 6.32.1.

131 Tacitus *Annals* 3.24.

132 Suetonius *Augustus* 65.2–4, Velleius 2.100.2–5.

133 Velleius 2.100.4–5, Tacitus *Annals* 4.44, Dio 55.10.15.

culpam inter viros ac feminas vulgatam gravi nomine laesarum religionum ac violatae maiestatis appellando clementiam maiorum suasque ipse leges egrediebatur.

at this common crime between men and women that, calling it by the serious name of sacrilege and treason, he overstepped traditional clemency and his own laws.¹³⁴

Coupled with the death of one paramour, Iullus Antonius, this has been built by scholars into a treason trial and an elaborate political conspiracy.¹³⁵

But we do not need to invent a separate political conspiracy cloaked as a sexual scandal to understand why Augustus called this treason and punished it more severely than was called for in his own law. Augustus was heavily invested in defining himself as the protector of Roman morality and the Roman family. Much of the promulgation of his own family in public was guised as an example of proper familial and patriotic behavior, which had been rhetorically declared the same thing in much of Augustus' legislation. Moreover, in a complex set of ways which we have analyzed for the last several chapters, his family had become practically and symbolically the most important part of Roman society. Disloyalty to that family, particularly in a manner so charged in Augustan social and political discourse, was disloyalty to the state, or treason.

Key elements of the ancient accounts confirm such an interpretation. Most prominently, the activities which finally forced action from Augustus were illicit affairs associated with a public place. Revelries at the rostra, in the forum, were an affront to the respected public status of the family so promoted in 2 B.C.E. In his presentation of the affair, Seneca has Augustus make these associations explicit:

Divus Augustus filiam ultra impudicitiae maledictum impudicam relegavit et flagitia principalis domus in publicum emisit: admissos gregatim adulteros, pererratam nocturnis comissionibus civitatem, forum ipsum ac rostra, ex quibus pater legem de adulteriis tulerat, filiae in stupra placuisse.

The deified Augustus exiled his daughter, unchaste beyond the curse of unchastity, and published the disgrace of the leading [*principalis*]

¹³⁴ *Annals* 3.24.

¹³⁵ R. A. Bauman, *The Crimen Maiestatis in the Roman Republic and Augustan Principate* (Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press, 1967), 206–45, argues for an otherwise unknown crime of *maiestas violata* based on this sentence in Tacitus. See also C. A. Chilton, "The Roman Law of Treason under the Principate," *Journal of Roman Studies* 45 (1955): 73–81 and Robert Samuel Rogers, "Treason in the Early Empire," *Journal of Roman Studies* 49 (1959): 90–4.

house: that adulterers had been let in in herds, that the state [*civitas*] had been thoroughly visited by nocturnal revels, that the forum itself and the rostra, at which her father had proposed the law on adultery, had been pleasing to his daughter in her debaucheries.¹³⁶

Augustus' wrath was handled in a similarly public manner – as far as we know, the law on adultery did not require injured parties to make a report to the senate. Seneca tells us Augustus later regretted that he had not kept the matter private.¹³⁷ I suspect at that point he could not have.

Like the rest of her family, a public role had been developing for Julia since the mid 10s B.C.E. She had begun traveling abroad with her husband Agrippa in 17¹³⁸ and was depicted on state coins with her sons in c. 13 B.C.E. (Figure 3.5) and on the Ara Pacis dedicated in 9 (Figure 5.5). With Livia, she hosted a banquet for prominent women as part of the celebration of Drusus' ovation in 9 and probably as part of her husband Tiberius' triumph in 7.¹³⁹ Julia served as a model of feminine chastity; Propertius' poetic elegy of Cornelia imagines Augustus mourning her as a worthy sister of the exemplary Julia.¹⁴⁰ Augustus helped shape this public image: he had her learn to spin and weave in keeping with idealized republican symbols of austerity and morality; he made her speak and act with propriety as if always on public display, even in their own home; he carefully controlled access to her by strangers.¹⁴¹ Augustus was said to take note of the appropriateness of her attire and her companions.¹⁴² All of this had succeeded in making Julia a public figure – after her banishment, there was a loud public outcry for her return, which was voted on in assembly.¹⁴³ In the specific nature of her offenses, however, she had betrayed the core of this public image – exemplary familial propriety. To Augustus, this was sacrilege and treason.

Julia and Antonius and her other lovers did not make either of the famous lists of the conspirators against Augustus.¹⁴⁴ Conceptually, however, there is no need to distinguish between a sex scandal and a political conspiracy in the case of a daughter of the imperial house, as modern scholars have tried to do. In committing adultery ostentatiously, Julia failed the public role which the creation of an imperial family and an imperial state had presented to her. That

136 *On Benefits* 6.32.1.

137 *On Benefactions* 6.32.2.

138 Halfmann, *Itinera Principum*, 163–6.

139 Dio 55.2.4, 55.8.2.

140 4.11.59; Judith P. Hallett, *Fathers and Daughters in Roman Society* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984), 53–4.

141 Suetonius *Augustus* 64.2.

142 Macrobius *Saturnalia* 2.5.5–8.

143 Suetonius *Augustus* 65.3, Dio 55.13.1.

144 Seneca *On Clemency* 1.9.6, Suetonius *Augustus* 19; Ferrill, "Augustus and his Daughter," 345.

was a form of treason, Augustus labeled it such, and they both paid a high price for her crime. It does clearly reveal, however, the intricate connection between the idea of the state and her family, as well as the prominent status of all members of that household, male and female, by the year 2 B.C.E.

This was not the last of the disasters to strike Augustus' family. Julia's daughter Julia repeated her mother's scandal and exile in 8 C.E.¹⁴⁵ Perhaps even more tragic, however, was the death of Lucius in 2 C.E. and of his older brother two years later.¹⁴⁶ Augustus suddenly had no sons, no heirs, no successors. He finally adopted both Tiberius and Agrippa Postumus, the younger brother of Gaius and Lucius, and Tiberius' *tribunicia potestas* was renewed.¹⁴⁷ The activities of Tiberius thereafter are part of his succession to Augustus, even before the latter's death in 14. That process of succession is the topic of the next chapter.

CONCLUSIONS

Augustus' acceptance of the title *Pater Patriae* in 2 B.C.E. openly recognized a long-developing and complex relationship with the community of Rome. In the political discourse of the late republic, being a parent (*parens*) had been used as a metaphor for an affectionate authority figure interested in the well-being of dependants and vice versa.¹⁴⁸ By calling Augustus a *pater* to characterize his relationship to the *patria*, he and his contemporaries went a step further to evoke the specific cultural role of the Roman father, with its wide variety of obligations and emotional bonds to ancestors, relatives and dependants.¹⁴⁹ They drew on a familiar cultural construct to define what was ultimately an unprecedented position in the government, and at least Ovid and Augustus found the phrase the most satisfying description of his role.¹⁵⁰

This characterization satisfied on a number of levels. For immediate and practical reasons, many of Augustus' slaves, freedmen and male and female relatives had been brought into the everyday administration of the Roman government. Many of their roles were natural extensions of the work families performed for politically active men during the republic, but in the political context of a Rome under Augustus, these roles took on overtly public

145 Tacitus *Annals* 3.24, 4.71, Suetonius *Augustus* 65.2–5, 72.3, 101.3, Scholiast of Juvenal 6.157–8. Modern accounts include Ronald Syme, *History in Ovid* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978), 206–11 and Barbara Levick, "The Fall of Julia the Younger," *Latomus* 35 (1976): 301–39.

146 *Res Gestae* 14, Suetonius *Augustus* 65, *Tiberius* 23, Pliny *Natural History* 7.46, Velleius 2.13.

147 Velleius 2.13, Tacitus *Annals* 4.57, Suetonius *Tiberius* 15.2, 23, Dio 57.3.

148 Alföldi, *Vater des Vaterlandes*, 41–8; Cicero *On Orators* 3.1.3, *Letters to Quintus* 1.1.31; Livy 4.42.3, etc.

149 Cf. Dio 53.3, Seneca *On Clemency* 1.10.3, Suetonius *Augustus* 53.

150 *Fasti* 2.122–4; *Res Gestae* 35, Suetonius *Augustus* 58.

qualities. In turn, the fact that this growing part of civic administration was Augustus' *familia* meant that part of the state had become heritable. The heir to his house was in a very practical sense the successor to his position in the state, and the correct term for that heritable public role was *pater*.

This practical incorporation of his household into the state coincided with new developments in the rhetorical and ideological construction of Augustus' family and Rome in the period from *c.* 7 to 2 B.C.E. In his family values legislation of 19–17 B.C.E., Augustus had already shown a paternal attitude toward Roman society, and the metaphor of a father toward a family had been increasingly used to create relationships with Augustus in the private, neighborhood, municipal, and even provincial cults which developed between that legislation and 7 B.C.E. The first overt declaration that this role in the community would be inherited by Augustus' son, however, did not occur until 5, when Gaius came of age and was declared *princeps iuventutis*, "Princeps of the Youth." His younger brother Lucius joined him in this role in 2 B.C.E., the year in which the *Forum Augustum* was dedicated. This new civic space presented most clearly the new conception of the state as a kind of family, as all of Rome's sons and ancestors were visually and ceremonially adopted into one house in this space, and in the center of that space Augustus was identified as *Pater Patriae*, "Father of the Fatherland." At this stage in the development of the imperial system and in Augustus' own life, he clearly imagined his sons taking over this role, as is indicated by a letter quoted in Gellius:

Ave, mi Gai, meus asellus iucundissimus, quem semper medius fidius desidero, cum a me abes. Set praecipue diebus talibus, qualis est hodiernus, oculi mei requirunt meum Gaium, quem, ubicumque hoc die fuisti, spero laetum et bene valentem celebrasse quartum et sexagesimum natalem meum. Nam, ut vides, *klimaktera* communem seniorum omnium tertium et sexagesimum annum evasimus. Deos autem oro ut mihi quantumcumque superest temporis, id salvis nobis traducere liceat in statu rei publicae felicissimo, *andragathounton humon kai diadechomenon* stationem meam.

Greetings, my Gaius, my most pleasing little donkey, whom, by heaven, I always long for when you are away from me. But especially on such days as today, my eyes need my Gaius, who, I hope, has celebrated my sixty-fourth birthday in health and happiness. For, as you see, I have escaped the calamity of the sixty-third year common to all old men. And I beg the gods that whatever time is left we are permitted to spend safe in a most fortunate *res publica*, with you two doing the deeds of brave men and succeeding to my position [*statio*].¹⁵¹

151 15.7.3.

Octavian Augustus could have accepted the traditional title *Parens Patriae* in 27 B.C.E., when he had been creatively carving a public image out of the closely related roles of savior, founder, and benefactor of the Roman people, but for some reason he did not. Twenty-five years of governing and experimenting later, as his own adoptive sons became politically active, Augustus was ready for the more explicit role of *pater*. The deliberate coincidence of Augustus' acceptance of the title and Lucius' coming-of-age underscored the fact that Augustus' role in his family and in the state was the same. As Valerius Messala said in the senate when proposing this honor for Augustus:

Quod bonum faustumque sit tibi domuique tuae, Caesar Auguste!
Sic enim nos perpetuam felicitatem rei p. et laeta huic precari
existimamus: senatus te consentiens cum populo R. consalutat
patriae patrem.

May it be good and auspicious for you and your house, Caesar Augustus! For in this way we think to be praying for the lasting good fortune of the *res publica* and happiness for it: the senate, in agreement with the Roman people, hail you as Father of the Fatherland.¹⁵²

152 Suetonius *Augustus* 58.

INHERITING THE *RES PUBLICA*

Tiberius

The final step in the development of an imperial system was for someone to inherit successfully Augustus' political position as well as his family estate. After Augustus' adoptive sons Gaius and Lucius died in the first few years of the Common Era, Tiberius stood out as his only likely heir. In his seventies, Augustus left little of this potential transfer of power to chance. In 4 C.E., he indicated that he intended Tiberius to succeed him in both the magisterial and familial modes of expressing authority developed during his first thirty-five years of rule; Tiberius not only received *tribunicia potestas* and a special grant of *imperium*, but Augustus also adopted him as a son.

After identifying Tiberius as his successor in this way in 4 C.E., Augustus lived another ten years. For the most part, Tiberius led the empire's military campaigns, while Augustus administered the city of Rome. The various problems which arose in this period were handled by both men in a way that reinforced the role of their family in the state. Moreover, even matters inside the family were managed so as to protect the succession of Tiberius. Augustus thus spent the last ten years of his long life and career insuring his creation of a dynasty. When the first emperor died in 14, Tiberius, having already served as Augustus' colleague for a decade, inherited leadership of the family now at the heart of civic administration, cult, and ideology. As the new head of the imperial family, Tiberius became the new father of the Roman state.

DESIGNATING TIBERIUS

I have argued that much of Augustus' early promotion of his family was primarily aimed at consolidating his own position in society. As a result of the development of images, religious rites and public rhetoric identifying Augustus as a father over the state, however, political inheritance became conceivable. By the time Augustus titled his adopted sons Gaius and Lucius *principes iuventutis* in 5 and 2 B.C.E., respectively, he was overtly delineating a dynasty.¹

When Lucius died in 2 and Gaius in 4 C.E., the grand plan was spoiled,² but the public commemoration of their lives and deaths confirms the public status attained by these young men through their family. Lucius, *consul designatus* and *princeps iuventutis*, died while serving abroad in Massilia. Posthumous honors were voted him by the Roman senate, and local towns erected altars to him.³ The death of Gaius two years later during his Parthian campaign was mourned even more elaborately. Temples were erected to the dead brothers together at Nemausus, Mytilene, and probably Acerrae, and statue groups were set up in Casinum, Pisa, Corinth, and possibly Rheims.⁴ The town of Pisa treated Gaius' death as a national disaster, halting religious and commercial activity while the entire city mourned for several days.⁵ The Pisans also erected in their forum a new arch decorated with trophies, equestrian statues of the brothers, and a central statue of Gaius.⁶ Chances are good that the Pisan magistrates took their cue here from the senate in Rome, and Rose tentatively locates an arch of Gaius and Lucius in remains near the Temple of Caesar in the Roman forum.⁷ We know that in 5 C.E., a set of ten new judicial centuries for senators and equestrians were named for Gaius and Lucius.⁸ In this way, a new electoral privilege of the upper class was tied to the glory of the deceased heirs of Augustus.⁹ Communities across the empire thus built commemoration of these sons of Augustus into their public spaces and institutions; the idea that Augustus' family was uniquely important to the health of Rome was well established.

A roughly contemporary event underscores the success of such ceremonies in stirring positive popular sentiment toward this family. Shortly after describing the deaths and funerals of Gaius and Lucius, Dio reports:

When the people strongly urged Augustus to bring home his daughter, he said that fire would sooner be mixed with water than she should be brought home. And the people threw many torches into the Tiber. Although at the time they achieved nothing, later they pressured him to convey her from the island to the mainland.¹⁰

1 On their portraits and appearances in public imagery, see Pollini, *Portraiture of Gaius and Lucius*.

2 Dio 55.10a.9–10, Suetonius *Augustus* 65, Tacitus *Annals* 1.3, *CIL* 11.1420–1.

3 *CIL* 11.1420, *IGR* 4.67, *ET* 5:62, 163; Rose, *Dynastic Commemoration*, 18–19.

4 Rose, *Dynastic Commemoration*, 19–20.

5 *CIL* 11.1421.20–4; Rose, *Dynastic Commemoration*, 19.

6 *CIL* 11.1421.34–8.

7 *Dynastic Commemoration*, 19.

8 *EJ* 94a.5–10. For an analysis of the new voting procedure, see P. A. Brunt, "The Lex Valeria Cornelia," *Journal of Roman Studies* 51 (1961): 71–83.

9 Brunt, "Lex Valeria Cornelia," 78.

10 55.13.1.

Suetonius dates this move of Julia to Rhegium five years after her exile, and thus *c.* 3 C.E., between her sons' deaths.¹¹ The biographer adds:

Nam ut omnino revocaret, exorari nullo modo potuit, deprecanti saepe populo Romano et pertinacius instanti tales filias talesque coniuges pro contione inprecatus.

But he could not be encouraged to recall her completely in any way, and when the Roman people often pleaded and tenaciously insisted on it, before a public assembly [*contio*] he invoked the gods to curse them with like daughters and wives.

The concern of the Roman populace with the status of Augustus' daughter and the discussion of her in a *contio* emphasize the degree to which all affairs of his family were now considered public. Moreover, that both Suetonius and Dio discuss these efforts to have Julia recalled in the context of the deaths of her sons Gaius and Lucius reveals both popular anxiety over these events and an impulse to correct a perceived national crisis by healing a rift in Augustus' house. By the first few years of the Common Era, popular imagination identified the health of the state with the family of Augustus.

This sentiment and Augustus' dynastic aims called for the designation of a new heir. About three months after news of Gaius' death was received in Rome, Augustus identified his stepson, Tiberius, as his intended successor. The means by which this was done reveal the nature of Augustus' authority and the role of his family in the newly reconceived state – Tiberius became Augustus' colleague in magisterial powers *and* was adopted into the Julian house.

Part of Augustus' public position had come to be articulated using terms associated with republican magistracies and military commands. *Tribunicia potestas* and *maius imperium* represented respectively Augustus' civic and military authority; the titles *trib pot* (*tribunicia potestas*) and *imperator* are among the most frequently advertised on coins minted in this period.¹² When the Germans revolted within months of Gaius' death, Augustus sent Tiberius on his first military command in a decade and had him given a ten-year grant of *tribunicia potestas*.¹³ Due to Tiberius' long history of successful public service, he could be assumed quickly as Augustus' colleague in administration both at home and abroad. The practicality of this for the aging Augustus is clear – Tiberius personally led several important campaigns in the years following.¹⁴

This time around, however, Tiberius' position was different, and this difference was marked by reference to the other means by which Augustus' authority

¹¹ *Augustus* 65.3.

¹² Sutherland, *Coinage in Imperial Policy*, 27–8.

¹³ Velleius 2.103–104.2, Suetonius *Tiberius* 16.1, Dio 55.13.1a–2, Tacitus *Annals* 1.3.3.

¹⁴ Cf. Dio 55.13.1a; Seager, *Tiberius*, 38–46.

in the civic community had come to be expressed, that is, by means of the family. At the same time as Tiberius received *tribunicia potestas* and a special grant of *imperium*, Augustus adopted him as a son.¹⁵ Augustus emphasized the public significance of this act by adding to the traditional adoption formula in the case of Tiberius, “hoc . . . rei publicae causa facio,” “this . . . I do for the sake of the *res publica*.”¹⁶ When Tiberius became an heir to the imperial estate and to an imperial family, he also became heir to Augustus’ leadership of Rome.

Two elements of this adoption require special attention. First, Tiberius was not adopted alone; Augustus also took as a son Agrippa Postumus, Gaius and Lucius’ younger brother, in the ceremony of 4 C.E.¹⁷ However, Agrippa was only sixteen at the time and did not receive the magisterial powers which Tiberius did. Since he was not an equal of the forty-five-year-old Tiberius, the question arises as to what Augustus intended for the youth.¹⁸ Of course, the promoting of pairs was a prominent feature of Augustus’ management of the men of his house.¹⁹ Marcellus and Tiberius received honors together in their youth, then Tiberius and his brother Drusus following Marcellus’ death, and finally Gaius and Lucius were adopted together and received similar awards. After such pairs were recognized as successors, this habit may have been intended to insure the succession against the untimely death of one member; after all, four of the five youths in question died before Augustus. More importantly, however, the phenomenon of paired heirs also prevented Augustus from having any rivals within his own family, and keeping a card to play against Tiberius may have been a motivation for the adoption of Agrippa. Even so, Velleius notes that Augustus did not add the phrase “I do this for the good of the *res publica*” to the adoption formula for Agrippa,²⁰ and more private concerns may have led him to accept paternal responsibility for this apparently unruly young man.

Many of these themes are also found in the second remarkable feature of Tiberius’ adoption: at the same time, Tiberius himself adopted Germanicus, the orphaned son of his brother Drusus (the Elder).²¹ Because Tiberius already had a son of his own, Drusus (the Younger), this created another pair of heirs along the line of succession, protecting the dynasty into a third generation. This interpretation of the purpose of the adoptions – protecting the dynasty – is supported by an interesting link with the dedication of the *Ara Providentiae Aug.*, the Altar of Augustan Forethought. The Arval Brothers made annual

15 Velleius 2.103, Dio 55.13.1a–2, Suetonius *Augustus* 65, Tacitus *Annals* 1.3.

16 Velleius 2.104.1, Suetonius *Tiberius* 21.3.

17 Suetonius *Augustus* 65, Velleius 2.104.1, *ILS* 143.

18 Levick, *Tiberius the Politician*, 49.

19 See above, Chapter 3, and especially Kornemann, *Doppelprinzipat*.

20 2.104.1.

21 Dio 55.13.1a–2, Suetonius *Augustus* 65, *Tiberius* 15, Tacitus *Annals* 1.3.

sacrifices at this altar on the anniversary of the adoptions.²² Commemorating a new and elaborate line of succession with a public monument to Augustan Forethought communicated that the special responsibility of Augustus' family for the health and well-being of the state was guaranteed into succeeding generations.

The practical lines of succession, however, between the eighteen- and seventeen-year-old "brothers" Germanicus and Drusus and their sixteen-year-old "uncle," Agrippa Postumus, are difficult to understand. Another promising reading is that this series of adoptions served to bring these men under the paternal authority of Augustus.²³ As their natural fathers had died, Tiberius, Germanicus, and Agrippa Postumus all legally headed independent households before their adoptions in 4 C.E. Contemporary marriage ties confirm Augustus' aim to create a single family;²⁴ at about this time, Germanicus married Agrippina, the daughter of Augustus' daughter Julia,²⁵ and his younger brother Claudius was engaged to Julia's granddaughter, Aemilia Lepida.²⁶ Thus, by marriage or adoption, almost all the children and grandchildren of Augustus' daughter Julia and of his wife Livia were brought into a single family under Augustus, *pater familias* and *Pater Patriae*.²⁷

Augustus' consolidation of his family directly affected the status of Tiberius. When he became Augustus' son, Tiberius was selected to inherit authority over a well-defined imperial house. Although the main state mint at Lugdunum continued to use the images honoring Gaius and Lucius created in 2 B.C.E.,²⁸ provincial mints quickly recognized this new status of Tiberius.²⁹ Provincial statue groups began to celebrate Augustus, Tiberius, Germanicus, and Drusus the Younger as a family unit.³⁰ Tiberius' position became even clearer three years later, when Augustus banished his ill-tempered adoptive son, Agrippa Postumus.³¹ Suetonius notes that Tiberius played the role of son to *pater*

22 John Scheid and H. Broise, "Deux nouveaux fragments des Actes des frères arvaux de l'année 38 après J.-Chr.," *Mélanges École Française Rome* 92.1 (1980): 232–6; Scheid, *Romulus*, 424–6; cf. Seager, *Tiberius*, 37–8.

23 See Corbier, "Constructing Kinship," 142, on adoption as a means of organizing and exerting paternal control.

24 Levick, *Tiberius the Politician*, 49–50; Corbier, "Male Power," 183–5.

25 Syme, *Augustan Aristocracy*, 93.

26 Suetonius *Claudius* 26.1.

27 Agrippina, Claudius, and Aemilia Lepida were not legally under Augustus' authority, however. The first two had been independent since the deaths of their fathers, Agrippa and Germanicus, while Aemilia Lepida remained under her father Paullus' authority. Their marriages or proposed marriages into Augustus' house did not technically transfer them to Augustus' *patria potestas*.

28 Jean-Baptiste Giard, *Le monnayage de l'atelier de Lyon, des origines au règne de Caligula* (Wetteren, Belgium: Éditions Numismatique romaine, 1983), 43.

29 Rose, *Dynastic Commemoration*, 20; *RPC* 215, 330–1, 710, 1140, 1144, 1565, 2833, 706–7, 747–8, 789, 791, 809, 2467.

30 Rose, *Dynastic Commemoration*, 20.

31 Suetonius *Augustus* 65.4.

Augustus in succeeding years, implicitly recognizing the familial nature of his impending imperial authority:

Gaio et Lucio intra triennium defunctis adoptatur ab Augusto simul cum fratre eorum M. Agrippa, coactus prius ipse Germanicum fratris sui filium adoptare. Nec quicquam postea pro patre familias egit aut ius, quod amiserat, ex ulla parte retinuit. Nam neque donabit neque manumisit, ne hereditatem quidem aut legata percepit ulla aliter quam ut peculio referret accepta. Nihil ex eo tempore praetermissum est ad maiestatem eius augendam ac multo magis, postquam Agrippa abdicato atque seposito certum erat, uni spem successionis incumbere.

After Gaius and Lucius had died within three years, [Tiberius] was adopted by Augustus at the same time as their brother, Marcus Agrippa, having first been himself compelled to adopt Germanicus, the son of his brother. Nor afterwards did he act as a *pater familias* or retain any part of the privilege which he had lost. For he neither gave gifts nor manumitted slaves, nor accepted inheritances or legacies other than those which he took into the allowance [*peculium*] granted by his father. From that time on nothing was overlooked which could add to his prestige, and then even more when, after Agrippa was disowned and banished, it had become clear that hope of succession rested in him alone.³²

The manner in which Augustus tried to mark Tiberius as a successor illustrates the way in which his own position in society was being conceived and expressed. Tiberius received special magisterial powers developed early in Augustus' sole rule, including *tribunicia potestas* and *imperium*. Augustus had shared these exclusively with his administrative colleague Agrippa and assistant Tiberius before, and they were associated with special and well-earned executive authority. Tiberius' renewed tenure of them in 4 C.E. marked his resumption of high rank within the Roman state. Perhaps even more importantly, however, Tiberius was formally adopted as the son of the *Pater Patriae* and of the *pater familias* of a newly consolidated imperial house. Velleius, a witness to these events, provides not only an intriguing summary of this process of designation, but a glimpse into the manner in which it was publicly presented:

Itaque quod . . . voluerat . . . facere perseveravit, ut et tribuniciae potestatis consortionem Neroni constitueret, multum quidem eo cum domi tum in senatu recusante, et eum Aelio Cato C. Sentio

32 Suetonius *Tiberius* 15.2.

consulibus V. Kal. Iulias, post urbem conditam annis septingentis quinquaginta quattuor, abhinc annos septem et viginti adoptaret. Laetitia illius diei concursusque civitatis et vota paene inserentium caelo manus spemque conceptam perpetuae securitatis aeternitatisque Romani imperii vix in illo iusto opere abunde persequi poterimus, nedum hic implere temptemus, contenti id unum dixisse quam ille omnibus faustus fuerit. Tum refulsit certa spes liberorum parentibus, viris matrimoniorum, dominis patrimonii, omnibus hominibus salutis, quietis, pacis, tranquillitatis, adeo ut nec plus sperari potuerit nec spei responderi felicius.

Thus, what . . . [Augustus] had wished . . . he endeavored to do, namely, he both established [Tiberius] Nero as a partner in tribunician power, despite Tiberius' frequent refusal at home and in the senate, and adopted him in the consulship of Aelius Catus and Gaius Sentius, on the twenty-seventh of June, seven hundred and fifty-four years after the founding of the city, and twenty-seven years ago. The happiness of that day and the gathering of the citizenry, the vows of those stretching their hands almost to heaven and the hope conceived of perpetual security and the eternity of the Roman empire, I shall scarcely be able to describe fully in the appropriate work, nor shall I try to detail them here, but instead I shall content myself to say this one thing, that it was a day of good omen for all. At that time, there shone again certain hope of children for parents, of marriage for husbands, of safe property for owners, of health, quiet, peace and tranquility for all men; indeed, it was not possible to hope for more nor to have one's hope more happily answered.³³

To top off this festival of renewal, Augustus enacted a revision of the senate, a census of the people, and a formal lustration of the city.³⁴ Despite the death of Augustus' first two sons, now that the three constituent parts of the community – the imperial house, the senate, and the citizen body – had been set in order, all was once again right with Rome.

FAMILY AND STATE IN AUGUSTUS' LAST DECADE

After naming Tiberius his successor in 4 C.E., Augustus lived another ten years. For the most part, Tiberius led the empire's military campaigns, while Augustus administered the city of Rome. Evidence suggests frequent contact

³³ Velleius 2.103.3–5.

³⁴ Dio 55.13.3–6.

between them, including visits by Augustus to points near the front and by Tiberius to Rome.³⁵ Significantly, the financial, military, and other problems which arose in this period were handled by both men in such a way as to reinforce the role of their family in the state, and even matters inside this family were managed so as to protect the succession of Tiberius. Imagery, legislation, ceremony, and cult were all employed to consolidate an imperial family. Augustus thus spent the last ten years of his long life and career insuring his creation of a dynasty.

Immediately after being adopted in 4, Tiberius assumed command against a revolt of the Germans on the northern frontier. In 6, he turned to revolts on his flank in Dalmatia and Pannonia, where he worked for another two years.³⁶ According to Dio, during these campaigns he was hailed *imperator* along with Augustus.³⁷ Not only was he the first man to be so honored, but this title was the last token of authority Augustus had kept to himself besides fatherhood. Additionally, when disgruntlement among the soldiers resulted in a special military retirement plan,³⁸ Augustus gave Tiberius equal credit for providing the economic benefits:

Since no one found any source of funds, but everyone was distressed that [a military fund] was even being created, Augustus put money into an account on behalf of himself and of Tiberius, which he named the military treasury, and he arranged that three of the ex-praetors, chosen by lot, should administer it for three years . . . Now Augustus himself put this together, and he promised to put money in every year, and welcomed pledges from kings and some communities, but he accepted nothing from private citizens, even though many of them offered willingly, or at least said they did.³⁹

Thus, in titulature and in benefaction, Tiberius began to be treated as Augustus' equal among the Roman soldiery after 4 C.E., while other aristocrats continued to be cut off from patronage of the armed forces.

Public celebrations also focused on the men of the imperial house, their familial relationships, and their military leadership. To mark the end of a famine, games were held in honor of Tiberius' dead brother Drusus by Drusus' sons Germanicus and Claudius.⁴⁰ At about the same time, Tiberius completed renovations on the Temple of Castor and Pollux in the Roman forum and

³⁵ Velleius 2.105.3, 107.3, Dio 55.34.3, 55.27.5.

³⁶ Dio 55.28.7–33.2.

³⁷ Dio 55.28.5–6.

³⁸ Dio 55.23.1–2.

³⁹ Dio 55.25.1–3.

⁴⁰ Dio 55.27.3–5, 55.33.4.

rededicated it in the name of himself and his brother.⁴¹ This continued a long tradition of Augustus and Livia in restoring public temples, but the specific cult Tiberius sponsored also made certain statements about himself and his family. Of the Dioscuri, the sons of Jupiter, one was mortal and the other divine, creating a complex comparison with Tiberius and his dead brother Drusus. Ovid emphasizes this play on the image of brothers and divinity when he describes the temple which “fratribus illa deis fratres de gente deorum,” “brothers from the clan of the gods” built “to brother gods.”⁴² The monument also emphasized the ties between Tiberius and Drusus’ son Germanicus, now Tiberius’ adoptive son, and between Germanicus and his one-time cousin, now adoptive brother, Drusus the Younger. In addition, both the Roman legends of Castor and Pollux, depicted on coins as riders, and the prominence of this temple in the *transvectio equitum*, the annual review of the cavalry, reveal the long associations of this monument with military horsemen.⁴³ Thus, by emphasizing not just the military successes of Tiberius and Drusus, but also their leadership of the cavalry in games and ceremonies throughout their youth,⁴⁴ the temple and its dedication communicated that imperial brothers and their sons, like the divine and fraternal Dioscuri, would continue to watch over the city of Rome.

An even stronger statement about the divine aura of Augustus and his family was made by the consecration of a different shrine by Tiberius in about 6 C.E.⁴⁵ Next to the house of Augustus on the Palatine hill, Tiberius dedicated an altar to the *numen* of Augustus. The *numen* was a power of the gods, not associated with traditional household cults or the *genius*,⁴⁶ and thus Tiberius’ altar alluded sharply to the future deification of his father, Augustus. Moreover, this impending divinity was indicated to be of importance to the entire community, since members of all four major priesthoods of Rome made sacrifices here.

The prominence of Tiberius and his sons in these cults and ceremonies contrasts with the status of Augustus’ other adoptive son, Agrippa Postumus.

41 The chronology of these events is difficult to determine. Dio first places the games in 6 C.E. (55.27.3–5), but then repeats them in 8 (55.33.4). He mentions Tiberius’ rededication of the Temple of Castor and Pollux with the former, but in the context of describing the popularity of Drusus and how it was fostered, so he may well not mean to indicate that the games and the dedication occurred in the same year. Ovid provides the calendar date of January 27 (*Fasti* 1.707–8), and Suetonius describes the dedication of certain Pannonian spoils in this temple in 12 C.E., but neither provides the year of Tiberius’ first opening of the restored temple.

42 *Fasti* 1.707.

43 *RRC* 106, 201, 335, etc, Livy 2.42.5.

44 See above, Chapter 4.

45 *Fasti Numani et Iuliani* with dating by Alföldi, *Lorbeerbäume*, 42–4. See Beard, North, and Price, *Religions of Rome*, I:207.

46 On the differences between the *numen* and *genius*, see especially Fishwick, *Imperial Cult*, II.1:375–87.

Problems developed soon after he was adopted in the summer of 4. Velleius states that "he had begun to show what sort of person he was" two years before his exile in 7.⁴⁷ Certainly when he took the *toga virilis* in 6 he received no special honors or public duties like his brothers Gaius and Lucius and other men of his house.⁴⁸ His real downfall, however, came shortly after in two stages.⁴⁹ First, Agrippa suffered relegation to Surrentum and *abdicatio*, a little-known repudiation procedure which seems to have involved a father threatening a son with disinheritance.⁵⁰ Then, in 7, a senatorial decree sanctioned his permanent exile on Planasia, an island near Corsica, and the confiscation of his property.⁵¹

The sources concur that some form of *ferocia*, "uncontrollable ferocity," was the cause of Agrippa's disgrace,⁵² and we can safely infer that this fault was mentioned in the abdication ceremony or senatorial decree. However, Agrippa's alleged ill-temper may or may not be relevant to understanding what happened to him. Scholarly interpretations have run the gamut of trying to identify Agrippa's particular mental disorder,⁵³ to casting him as a victim of Livia's schemes to protect her son Tiberius' position,⁵⁴ to tying Agrippa to an elaborate political conspiracy involving the earlier popular protests of c. 6 C.E. and Julia the Younger's exile for adultery later in 8.⁵⁵

Personal behavioral problems were a possibility and of documented concern to Augustus; his restriction of Germanicus' stuttering brother Claudius from public appearances forms a useful contrast.⁵⁶ Suetonius also notes that Augustus destroyed one of Julia the Younger's opulent houses as a lesson in modesty.⁵⁷ We can even read Augustus' adoption of Agrippa back in 4 as an attempt to exert control over an unruly adolescent. If our interpretation of *abdicatio* is correct, that stage was yet another attempt to bring Agrippa into line, as Augustus hereby formally reprimanded him and threatened his position in the family. As Suetonius notes, this failed to improve the situation:

47 2.112.7.

48 Dio 55.22.4.

49 Suetonius *Augustus* 65.1, 4, Pliny *Natural History* 7.150.

50 So argues Shelagh Jameson, "Augustus and Agrippa Postumus," *Historia* 24 (1975): 287–314, contra Barbara Levick, "Abdication and Agrippa Postumus," *Historia* 21 (1972): 674–97. Sources indicating that *abdicatio* did not involve disinheritance include Quintilian *Institutes* 7.4.27, 3.6.98, Pliny *Natural History* 7.149, and Diocletian *Codex Justinianus* 8.46.6.

51 Tacitus *Annals* 1.6.1, Dio 55.32.1–2.

52 Velleius 2.112.7, Suetonius *Augustus* 65.4, Dio 55.32.1–2, Tacitus *Annals* 1.3.

53 E. Hohl, "Primum facinus novi Principatus," *Hermes* 69 (1935): 350; A. E. Papano, "Agrippa Postumus," *Classical Philology* 36 (1941): 33; F. Norwood, "The Riddle of Ovid's 'Relegatio,'" *Classical Philology* 58 (1963): 162.

54 Tacitus *Annals* 1.3.

55 Levick, *Tiberius the Politician*, 56–61 and "Fall of Julia."

56 Suetonius *Claudius* 4.

57 *Augustus* 72.3.

Agrippam nihilo tractabiliorem, immo in dies amentiozem, in insulam transportavit saepsitque insuper custodia militum. Cavit etiam s.c. ut eodem loci in perpetuum contineretur.

When Agrippa became in no way more manageable, finally becoming more mad day by day, [Augustus] transferred him to an island and put him under military guard. He also provided by senatorial decree that he be confined there in perpetuity.⁵⁸

Because *abdicatio* did not completely break Agrippa's tie to his family, and thus allowed Augustus to maintain paternal authority over him, the senatorial decree of banishment was necessary to disconnect Agrippa's status as Augustus' son from any political inheritance.⁵⁹ The military guard on Planasia underscores how seriously his political potential was taken, and attempts to free Agrippa and use him as a military rallying point are known.⁶⁰

Other scholars have interpreted Agrippa's entire situation in terms of this political position, and they see his disassociation from the family and banishment from Rome as a victory contrived by Tiberius and/or his supporters.⁶¹ As the contrast in these interpretations reveals, by now it had become impossible to separate issues internal to the imperial family from politics. Due to the unusual status of his family, Agrippa's adoption had political effects, whatever the motivations for it. When it either failed to bring him under control, or Tiberius' faction successfully trumped him, Agrippa had to be cut off from political opportunity. Notice that whether personal unsuitability or political rivalry was the cause of his exile, Agrippa was prevented from any possible assertion of authority by both familial and traditionally public means; Agrippa was formally reprimanded by his father and, through banishment and the confiscation of his property via a senatorial decree, declared an enemy of the state in full republican fashion.⁶² Similarly, whatever the cause of Agrippa's downfall, an effect was to clarify Tiberius' role as the primary successor of Augustus in both the familial and political sense.

Agrippa was not the only family member to suffer public disgrace in this period. Augustus' granddaughter Julia was exiled in 8 C.E., by all accounts on a charge of adultery.⁶³ Augustus renounced his friendship with her lover, D. Iunius Silanus, although the man went into self-imposed exile,⁶⁴ while her

⁵⁸ *Augustus* 65.4.

⁵⁹ Jameson, "Augustus and Agrippa," 301.

⁶⁰ Suetonius *Augustus* 19.2, Tacitus *Annals* 1.3.4, Velleius 2.112.7.

⁶¹ Levick, "Fall of Julia;" D. C. A. Shotter, "Julians, Claudians, and the Accession of Tiberius," *Latomus* 30 (1970): 1117–23; etc.

⁶² Jameson, "Augustus and Agrippa," 307–9; Suetonius *Caesar* 42.

⁶³ Suetonius *Augustus* 65.1, 4, Tacitus *Annals* 4.71.4, Pliny *Natural History* 7.149.

⁶⁴ Syme, *History in Ovid*, 206–11; Tacitus *Annals* 3.24, 4.71.4.

husband, Lucius Aemilius Paullus, was convicted of *maiestas*, treason, probably in the same year.⁶⁵ Interpreting these events reveals the same difficulties as the interpretation of Agrippa's adoption, repudiation, and banishment. Conspiracies both on the part of Julia, her lover, and/or husband and against them have been reconstructed.⁶⁶ The particular charge of adultery, as well, brings out the lack of distinction between treason and sexual disloyalty to Augustus' family which complicates our understanding of the banishment of Julia the Elder in 2 B.C.E.⁶⁷ Syme, for example, argues the adultery charge was a smoke screen: "As nine years previously, moral delinquency was invoked and advertised in order to cover up something of graver import."⁶⁸ However, in an Augustan context, what could be of graver import than sexual transgression of the *Pater Patriae*'s house? The easiest interpretation is that, again, young people in the family had failed to live up to the image of exemplary propriety established by Augustus and used to legitimize the unusual status of himself and his house. The *Pater Patriae* certainly seems to have believed that Agrippa and both Julias suffered downfalls for personal moral failings. As Suetonius reports: "And to any mention of [Agrippa] and the Julias he was accustomed to sigh and exclaim, 'I wish that I had remained unmarried and died childless.'⁶⁹ Nor did he call them anything but his three boils and his three ulcers."⁷⁰

That said, we should perhaps not fail to remark that this series of scandals resulted in almost the complete removal of the blood descendants of Augustus from the imperial house between 2 B.C.E. and 8 C.E. Of Julia and her children Gaius, Lucius, Agrippa, and Julia, two died and three were banished within a decade. In addition, Julia the Younger's husband was convicted of treason, their daughter was prevented from marrying her fiancé, Claudius, because "Augustus was angry with her parents,"⁷¹ and the baby born to Julia in exile was exposed.⁷² Only Julia the Elder's daughter Agrippina survived, having married Germanicus c. 4 C.E. In this same period, Tiberius became the sole heir and administrative equal of Augustus, and his own son Drusus and his brother's son Germanicus were celebrated as the next generation of imperial heirs. At the end of 8 C.E., the year of Julia the Younger's exile, or at the beginning of 9,⁷³ Tiberius celebrated the surrender of the Pannonians with a

65 Syme, *Augustan Aristocracy*, 115–27; Suetonius *Augustus* 19.1, Scholiast of Juvenal 6.157.

66 By Julia *et al.*: Levick, "Fall of Julia"; Meise, *Iulisch-klaudische Dynastie*, 39–46; against: Shotter, "Julians, Claudians." For more bibliography, see Kurt A. Raaflaub and L. J. Samons, "Opposition to Augustus," in *Between Republic and Empire. Interpretations of Augustus and his Principate*, eds Kurt A. Raaflaub and Mark Toher (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), 430–1.

67 See above, Chapter 7.

68 *Augustan Aristocracy*, 121.

69 *Iliad* 3.40, given by Suetonius in Greek.

70 *Augustus* 65.4.

71 Suetonius *Claudius* 36.1.

72 Suetonius *Augustus* 65.4.

73 Dio 56.1.1, *Fasti Praenestini* 231; cf. Levick, *Tiberius the Politician*, 61–2, n. 53.

reception in the Campus Martius in which he addressed the senate and people, toured the city temples, and sat next to Augustus between the consuls on the Capitoline hill. It is tempting to read into this contrast a conflict between the descendants of Livia and of Julia, as scholars from Cornelius Tacitus to Barbara Levick have tried to do. Such a struggle would have been the result of the strong statement of political succession through the imperial family made in 4 C.E., and it would have formed a precursor to the internal strife that became characteristic of the Julio-Claudian dynasty. However, for this very reason, we should consider the possibility that a conspiracy to slander and dispose of Agrippa and his sister Julia in 8 C.E. is anachronistic.

Moreover, in the intermarried mayhem of the contemporary imperial family, reconstructed factions can be tenuous. Germanicus serves as an interesting example. Because Tacitus depicts him as at odds with Tiberius,⁷⁴ Shotter makes him a “Julian” in his analysis of the factional conflict between Julians and Claudians in the imperial house.⁷⁵ Germanicus was indeed the son of Antonia, Augustus’ niece, and he was married to Agrippina, the daughter of Augustus’ daughter Julia. However, his father was Tiberius’ brother Drusus and his grandmother Augustus’ wife, Livia. His family name was Claudius until he was adopted into the Julii along with Tiberius and Tiberius’ son Drusus the Younger. If his opposition to Tiberius was fabricated or elaborated after his death by Tiberian opponents who needed a hero, as seems quite likely, where should we place the actual Germanicus in the purported family feud? He was the grandson of Livia and of Julia, and both of them and their supporters should have been interested in his success. Thus, Germanicus cannot be safely placed in either a “Julian” or “Claudian” camp, and attempts to create such factions among the members of the contemporary imperial family are probably misguided.

A certain amount of normal family squabbling should be expected, particularly considering the stakes, but need we build these into conspiracies? Even those who did not get along, such as Augustus’ daughter Julia and adopted son Tiberius, often seemed to have worked together. Their marriage was far from congenial,⁷⁶ but when she was exiled for adultery, Tiberius tried to intercede on her behalf.⁷⁷ In turn, Dio credits Julia with Tiberius’ return to Rome and to Augustus’ favor in 2 C.E.⁷⁸ We should be wary of believing Tacitus when he blames Tiberius for her death in 14.⁷⁹ The immediate causes for the disenfranchisement of the Julias and Agrippa from the imperial family given in our sources may be closest to the truth – the Julias and Agrippa failed in one way

74 E.g., *Annals* 1.7.9.

75 “Julians, Claudians,” 1120.

76 Suetonius *Tiberius* 7.3.

77 Suetonius *Tiberius* 11.4.

78 55.13.1a–2.

79 *Annals* 1.53.

or another to live up to the public image of the family defined by Augustus and the changing social and political context. The problem is that in their cases it is almost impossibly challenging for either contemporaries or later scholars to separate inappropriate personal or familial behavior from the political, since the imperial family was now the locus of power in society, and power relationships were defined in familial terms. For whatever reasons Julia the Younger was exiled and Agrippa was adopted, these events had political ramifications.

Moreover, Augustus in part addressed this series of problems – military rebellions, famine, fire, financial troubles, and the disgrace of Agrippa, Julia the Younger, and her husband – through a significant restatement of his marriage law. That is, in 9 C.E., Augustus drew again on the moralizing rhetoric of the post-civil-wars era to say that he could heal the ailing Roman state by correcting the familial behavior of its citizens. Not only did he thereby reinforce his own paternal role and the value of his exemplary, civic-minded family, he exacerbated the larger political consequences of any good or bad behavior within his family.

The differences between the *lex Julia* of 18 B.C.E. and the new *lex Papia Poppaea* are somewhat obscure, because later jurists frequently refer to them collectively as the Julian and Papian-Poppaeian law.⁸⁰ However, Dio and Tacitus, our major historical sources for the legislation, concur that the new law was intended to remedy abuses and strengthen the enforcement of the earlier one,⁸¹ and known details tend to confirm these characterizations.⁸² Tacitus also insists that Augustus intended the new law to increase public revenue.⁸³ We know that the earlier law prevented the unmarried from inheriting beyond a certain level of familial relationship, while the new Papian law allowed the childless to accept only half of an inheritance or legacy under such

80 E.g., *Tituli Ulpiani* 16.2; Treggiari, *Roman Marriage*, 60.

81 56.1.2, 6.6, 10.1; *Annals* 3.25, 28.

82 For example, the *lex Papia Poppaea* clarified the ages of productive childrearing, during which marriage was required, as 20–50 for women and 25–60 for men; *Tituli Ulpiani* 16.1. Because the Julian law counted men who were engaged as married, the Papian law restricted the length of engagement to prevent men from becoming engaged to little girls; Suetonius *Augustus* 34, Dio 54.16.7; Treggiari, *Roman Marriage*, 65; cf. P. A. Brunt, *Italian Manpower* 225 B.C.–A.D. 14 (London: Oxford University Press, 1971), 560. On the other hand, the later law increased the length of the grace period allowed widows and divorced women before they had to remarry; Suetonius *Augustus* 34.1, *Tituli Ulpiani* 14. The Papian law strengthened the motivation for freedpersons to have children by increasing the patron's claim on the estate of the childless; Treggiari, *Roman Marriage*, 74–5; Gaius *Institutes* 3.42–6, *Digest* 37.14.10–11, ht. 17. It also increased the claim of a female patron on her freedperson's estate as a reward for having children herself; Gaius 3.53, *Tituli Ulpiani* 29.6–7. Some details and discrepancies between the laws were not worked out, however – Tertullian notes that people were required by the Papian law to have children at an earlier age than the Julian law required them to be married; *Apologeticus* 4.8.

83 *Annals* 3.25.

conditions.⁸⁴ What Tacitus adds is critical information: under some circumstances the state now inherited this property instead.⁸⁵ He also implies that it was the *lex Papia Poppaea* which established rewards for successful prosecutors of those who falsified claims of having children; he is adamant that people did not like the new law because they felt harassed by potential prosecutors.⁸⁶

These revenue-producing aspects of the new law fit well amidst contemporary financial crises and tax innovations, but they do not explain the medium of the new tax. Although Dio wrote two centuries after the events in question and undoubtedly invented the speeches, specific context, and characters in his account,⁸⁷ he comes much closer to what must have been Augustus' rhetorical presentation. Dio has Augustus blame all the recent problems of Rome on those who refused to marry and have children:

What shall I call you? Men? But you are not doing the work of men. Citizens? But because of you, the city is being destroyed. Romans? But you are trying to destroy this name.

For you, inspired neither by the providence of the gods nor the concern of your forefathers, are eager to annihilate our entire race and make it truly mortal, to destroy and end the whole Roman people.

You are destroying the state by disobeying its laws, and you are betraying your fatherland by making it sterile and childless.⁸⁸

As I have emphasized, the years leading up to the new law of 9 C.E. were not good ones for Rome. Through this legislation and its public presentation, Augustus was able to locate these problems in the families of individual citizens, not in his own administration or his family. Dio expresses this clearly, having his Augustus blame the unmarried for the weakness of Rome and claim that the gods, their ancestors, and he himself were severely disappointed in them. Having two bachelor consuls enact the law emphasized the seriousness of the problem – and also that it was not the fault of Augustus or his family. This was, after all, a bad time to draw attention to behavior inside Augustus' house, and we should feel no surprise at the lack of a contemporary restatement of the adultery law.⁸⁹ Much like the rhetoric of the *lex Julia* in 18 B.C.E., the new law blamed the weakness of the Roman state on private families and then provided the opportunity for Augustus to be seen as the savior and paternal protector of Roman family values, and thus of Rome.

84 Gaius *Institutes* 2.111, 2.286a; cf. *Fragmentum Vaticanum* 214, 216–17, *Tituli Ulpiani* 28.7.

85 *Annals* 3.28.

86 Tacitus *Annals* 3.28; cf. Suetonius *Nero* 10.1.

87 56.2–9.

88 56.4.2, 4.4, 5.3.

89 Dio's Augustus may refer to this ironically (56.8.2): "Let none of you think I do not recognize there are certain annoying and painful aspects to marriage and childrearing."

The decision to enact the *lex Papia Poppaea* may also have been related specifically to the disaster of Varus. When Tiberius had been called away from Germany by the Pannonian revolt in 6, Augustus sent instead P. Quinctilius Varus, the one-time husband of two of Augustus' grandnieces.⁹⁰ The Germans did not openly revolt in response to his governorship, but finally led him and his troops into an ambush in the Teutoburg Forest. Three legions were cut down and Varus, along with most of his officers, committed suicide.⁹¹ The *clades Variana* was the worst military defeat of Augustus' rule and permanently established the northern border of the Roman empire at the Rhine.⁹² Quick movement by Tiberius and his forces prevented an attack on the province of Gaul, but even the city of Rome prepared for invasion.⁹³ This great military blow in unsettling times was easily interpreted as a terrible omen of divine disfavor with Rome.⁹⁴

Unfortunately, the chronological relationship between the passage of the *lex Papia Poppaea* and the Varine disaster is unknown. Dio is the only source to discuss both in any detail. He and Velleius concur that the triumph of Tiberius for his victory over the Pannonians had just been voted in 9 C.E. when news of the disaster reached Rome.⁹⁵ Unfortunately, however, Dio is vague about when the new legislation was passed,⁹⁶ and he tends to present events inside and outside the city separately, thus failing to give a relative chronology between the law and the military disaster. Most importantly, a lacuna at the end of 56.24 prevents us from knowing what Dio has Augustus identify as the source of the gods' anger in regard to the defeat. Suetonius mentions that Augustus vowed games to Jupiter Optimus Maximus, as had been done in the republic during the Cimbric and Marsic wars, to obviate the gods' wrath.⁹⁷ Passing a new law to blame Rome's military weakness on those who immorally refused to marry, have children, and obey the laws, and suggesting that he himself could remedy this problem, would also have been quite characteristic of Augustus.

More certainly in response to the disaster, the imperial family celebrated its military successes emphatically in the years following. After settling the

90 Claudia Pulchra, daughter of Marcella Minor, and Vipsania, again assuming that she was the daughter of Agrippa by Marcella Maior. See Fig. 3.1 and Syme, *Augustan Aristocracy*, 146.

91 Velleius 2.117–119.5, Dio 56.18–22.1, Tacitus *Annals* 1.57–61, Suetonius *Augustus* 23, *Tiberius* 17. See Stephen Dyson, "Native Revolts in the Roman Empire," *Historia* 20 (1971): 253–8.

92 Erich S. Gruen, "The Imperial Policy of Augustus," in *Between Republic and Empire. Interpretations of Augustus and his Principate*, eds Kurt A. Raaflaub and Mark Toher (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), 407–8.

93 Suetonius *Augustus* 23, Velleius 2.120, Dio 56.23.

94 Dio 56.24.

95 Dio 56.16.4–18.1, Velleius 2.117.

96 56.10.

97 *Augustus* 23.

revolt in Germany, Tiberius returned to Rome to hold the delayed Pannonian triumph in 10.⁹⁸ He triumphed on the anniversary of Octavian's assumption of the name Augustus,⁹⁹ which tied Augustus into the ceremony, and Tiberius to Augustus. Their relationship was made even more clear in the middle of the event, when Tiberius, "prius quam in Capitolium flecteret, descendit e curru seque praesidenti patri ad genua summisit," "before he turned to the Capitoline, descended from his chariot and fell at the knees of his father, who was presiding over the ceremonies."¹⁰⁰ Communicating a similar message, the Lugdunum mint began to issue bronze coins with a laureate portrait of Tiberius replacing that of Augustus and labeled TI CAESAR AUGUSTI F IMPERATOR V, "Tiberius Caesar, son of Augustus, hailed *imperator* five times."¹⁰¹ In the same period, Tiberius' adoptive son Germanicus began celebrating his military success and received early promotions characteristic of young men of his house. Due to his role in the victories in Pannonia, he received triumphal regalia, as well as praetorian rank, the privilege of voting after the consulars in the senate, and the right to hold the consulship before the customary age.¹⁰² In 12, Tiberius celebrated his third triumph,¹⁰³ the second in the space of two years, this time over the Illyrians. Ceremony and imagery communicated that the military future of Rome was safe in the house of Augustus.

As part of the celebration of the Pannonian triumph and his suppression of the Germans, Tiberius also dedicated the renovated Temple of Concord in the Roman forum.¹⁰⁴ As noted in the context of the shrine to Concordia which his mother Livia built in 7 B.C.E.,¹⁰⁵ the cult of *concordia* had a very specific and political aim in republican Rome – to heal a state suffering from civic discord. Livia's shrine, however, celebrated her harmonious marriage to Augustus,¹⁰⁶ creating an ideological relationship between the concord of her family and that of the community. Tiberius reemphasized this relationship when he renovated the main temple to the goddess Concordia in the forum; he rededicated the temple on January 16, the anniversary of the day Octavian assumed the name Augustus, and the day before the anniversary of Livia's marriage to Augustus.¹⁰⁷ Moreover, to complete the image of public accord guaranteed through the bonds of the imperial family, Tiberius dedicated the

98 Velleius 2.121.

99 *Feriale Cumanum*, *Fasti Praenestini*.

100 Suetonius *Tiberius* 20.

101 *RIC* 365.

102 Dio 56.17.

103 Velleius 2.122.

104 Dio 56.25.1, Suetonius *Tiberius* 20, Ovid *Fasti* 1.637–50.

105 See above, Chapter 5.

106 Ovid *Fasti* 6.638.

107 *Fasti Praenestini*, *Fasti Verulani*, *Feriale Cumanum*.

Temple of Concordia in his own name and the name of his dead brother Drusus, the father of Tiberius' adoptive son and heir, Germanicus.¹⁰⁸

The success of these attempts to identify the health of the family of Augustus with the health of Rome is starkly revealed in a contemporary monument erected by outsiders. In 12 or 13 C.E., the *plebs* of the city of Narbo in Gaul erected an altar to the *numen* or divine power of Augustus. The inscribed dedication begins with a prayer for

Imperator Caesar Augustus, the son of a god, *Pater Patriae*, *pontifex maximus*, holder of tribunician power for 34 years; and for his wife, his children, and his clan [*gens*], and for the senate and the Roman people, and for the colonists and other inhabitants of the colony Julia Paterna Narbo Martia.¹⁰⁹

In the eyes of the residents of Gallia Narbonensis, the hierarchy of Roman society was topped by Augustus, below whom came his family, and then the senate and the people.

As Augustus' health began to fail in the last couple of years of his life, his adoptive son and grandsons took over more and more of his public duties, and their inheritance of public roles through their family thus became even more solidified. After his triumph over Illyria in 12 C.E., Tiberius received *maius imperium*, the geographically unbounded military authority developed to describe the overarching leadership of Augustus.¹¹⁰ As the contemporary Velleius describes it:

Senatus populusque Romanus postulante patre eius, ut aequum ei ius in omnibus provinciis exercitibusque est, quam erat ipsi, decreto complexus est.

The senate and the Roman people, when his father asked that [Tiberius] have a power equal to his own among all the provinces and armies, honored him with such a decree.¹¹¹

This same year, Germanicus held the consulship long before the customary age and even though he had not yet been praetor.¹¹² Dio notes that this

108 Dio 56.1. For an analysis of the sculptural dedications and display in the temple, see B. A. Kellum, "The City Adorned: Programmatic Display at the *Aedes Concordiae Augustae*," in *Between Republic and Empire. Interpretations of Augustus and his Principate*, eds Kurt A. Raaflaub and Mark Toher (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), 276–307.

109 *CIL* 12.4333.6–11.

110 Suetonius *Tiberius* 20.1, Ovid *Letters from Pontus* 2.1, 2.2, 3.3.85, *Fasti Praenestini*.

111 2.121.1.

112 Dio 56.26.1.

grandson of Augustus had by now begun reading the emperor's speeches and comments for him in the senate, as the old man's voice was failing.¹¹³ To allow Augustus to conduct public business from home, a decree was passed validating any decision reached by a committee formed of Augustus, his son and grandsons, the consuls and consuls-designate, and a special board of twenty senatorial advisers.¹¹⁴ The emperor's family was inextricably tied into the structure and business of Roman public life.

Tiberius' role as the next in line in both the family and the community continued to be emphasized. In 13, Augustus and Tiberius together renewed their ten-year grants of *tribunicia potestas* and held a census of the Roman people.¹¹⁵ Contemporary coins emphasized Tiberius' role as civic and military leader, as both gold and silver reverses from Lugdunum show Tiberius dressed in triumphal garb and standing in a chariot, but labeled TI CAESAR AUG F TR POT XV, "Tiberius Caesar, son of Augustus, in the fifteenth year of his *tribunicia potestas*."¹¹⁶ The *Pater Patriae* made it clear that Tiberius would inherit his "August" name.¹¹⁷ In imagery, in his activities, and in his record of public service, Tiberius was Augustus' colleague. The only hierarchy remaining between them was familial. In turn, any family rivals to Tiberius had fallen, victims either of the strongly enforced public image of the imperial family or of their own or others' political connivings. When, on August 19, 14 C.E., Augustus died, his son Tiberius legally became the *pater familias* and conceptually became the *Pater Patriae*.

DEATH AND SUCCESSION

Augustus tried to insure Tiberius' inheritance of his own public position using every means possible. Not only did he publicize and support Tiberius' status while he was alive, he left many documents to be opened upon his death that helped orchestrate the transfer of power, including a will, instructions for his funeral, and accounts of his own accomplishments as well as the state's military and financial status.¹¹⁸ Despite this careful planning, however, no one could know what would happen upon the death of the *Pater Patriae*. To the same degree that Augustus' position itself was unprecedented, in 14 C.E. no one had ever tried to succeed to such a position.

Modern scholars face many challenges trying to reconstruct the events of this time. For example, our ancient accounts conflict as to whether or not

113 56.26.2.

114 Dio 56.28.2–3.

115 Dio 56.28.1, Suetonius *Tiberius* 20.

116 *RIC* 355.

117 Suetonius *Tiberius* 17.

118 Dio 56.33, Suetonius *Augustus* 101, Tacitus *Annals* 1.11.

Tiberius met with Augustus privately just before his death.¹¹⁹ There are great difficulties in working out even the relative chronology of subsequent events,¹²⁰ and we are uncertain how to interpret phenomena such as the tradition's insistence that Tiberius frequently refused imperial authority.¹²¹ However, as Tacitus points out, while various other things were going on, Tiberius kept doing what he had been doing – administering the empire, particularly the military.¹²² Tiberius exercised his long-held *imperium* and *tribunicia potestas* without hesitation.¹²³ Three further events confirmed Tiberius's public position: the death of his only potential rival, Agrippa Postumus, the confirmation of his property inheritance, and the state funeral and other posthumous honors of Augustus that further developed the concept of an imperial family. After this, Tiberius was clearly the head of the imperial family, and his family was demonstrably at the core of the Roman state. Whatever the senators decided to do, Tiberius had already become the second emperor of Rome.

"Primum facinus novi principatus fuit Postumi Agrippae caedes," "the first crime of the new principate was the murder of Agrippa Postumus."¹²⁴ Sources concur that as soon as news of Augustus' death reached the island on which he was being held, Agrippa was killed by one of his guards. However, the author of those orders has been debated for centuries. Dio blames Tiberius, Suetonius suggests Augustus himself or possibly Livia, while Tacitus doubts the involvement of Augustus in the execution of his own kin.¹²⁵ Modern scholars are similarly creative and divided.¹²⁶ The culprit in this ancient murder mystery will never be known; however, the point is that someone perceived the other son of Augustus to be a political rival to Tiberius, even though he had never held political office, never led troops, had been repudiated by his father, was banished by senatorial decree, and was being held under guard on an island. Agrippa's status as the son of Augustus and part of the Julian family alone

119 Velleius (2.123) and Suetonius (*Tiberius* 21) are quite emphatic that Tiberius met with his father; however, Dio (56.29.2–31.1) alleges that "the most reliable sources concur" that Livia concealed the death of her husband to allow time for Tiberius' arrival, which sounds suspiciously like Livy's account of Tanaquil and the accession of Servius Tullius (1.41). Tacitus (*Annals* 1.5) reports this story about Livia, but characteristically fails to take sides. For a possible reconstruction, see Levick, *Tiberius the Politician*, 68–75.

120 Michael S. Sage, "Tacitus and the Accession of Tiberius," *Ancient Society* 13 (1982): 293–321.

121 Ovid *Letters from Pontus* 4.13.27, Velleius 2.124.2, Tacitus *Annals* 1.46.1, Suetonius *Tiberius* 24.1, Dio 57.2.3; Levick, *Tiberius the Politician*, 71–5.

122 *Annals* 1.7.

123 Tacitus *Annals* 1.7, Suetonius *Tiberius* 23–4, Dio 57.2.1; Levick, *Tiberius the Politician*, 75.

124 Tacitus *Annals* 1.6.

125 Dio 57.3.5, Suetonius *Tiberius* 22, Tacitus *Annals* 1.6.

126 J. D. Lewis, "Primum facinus novi Principatus," in *Auckland Classical Essays Presented to E. M. Blaiklock*, ed. B. F. Harris (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1970), 165–84; Seager, *Tiberius*, 48–50; Levick, *Tiberius the Politician*, 65; Dennis Kehoe, "Tacitus and Sallustius Crispus," *Classical Journal* 80 (1985): 247–54; etc.

made him potentially powerful. The first deed of the new principate, whoever its author, dramatically demonstrated that the key to political power was now the house of Augustus.

Precisely because this was the case, the public reading and acceptance of Augustus' will, and thus the inheritance of Tiberius, was also a crucial stage in the succession. Suetonius details the bequests read aloud at a meeting of the senate:

Heredes instituit primos: Tiberium ex parte dimidia et sextante, Liviam ex parte tertia, quos et ferre nomen suum iussit; secundos: Drusum Tiberi filium ex triente, ex partibus reliquis Germanicum liberosque eius tres sexus virilis; tertio gradu propinquos, amicosque compluris. Legavit populo R. quadringenties, tribus tricies quinque sestertium, praetorianis militibus singula milia nummorum, cohortibus urbanis quingenos, legionaris trecenos nummos; quam summam repraesentari iussit, nam et confiscatam semper repositamque habuerat.

He instituted as his chief heirs Tiberius, who received two-thirds of the estate, and Livia, one-third, both of whom he ordered to take his name. His heirs in the second degree were Drusus, the son of Tiberius, one-third, and the rest for Germanicus and his three male children. In the third grade he mentioned many of his relatives and friends. He gave as a legacy to the Roman people forty million sesterces, to the tribes three million five-hundred thousand, to the praetorian soldiers a thousand each, to the urban cohorts five hundred each, and to the legionaries three hundred, which sum he ordered to be paid immediately, for he had already collected and stored such an amount.¹²⁷

Augustus' was in many ways a traditional Roman will. Children were the preferred heirs in both law and custom, with wives frequently receiving a share of one-half or less as well.¹²⁸ It was also customary to name second and even third sets of heirs, to prevent the annulment of the will should the first heirs prove unable to accept the inheritance.¹²⁹ Naming someone a lower-grade heir or legatee was also a form of recognition expected by significant survivors.¹³⁰ At first glance, therefore, Augustus' will appears unremarkable.

Legacies to soldiers and the Roman people, however, were unusual. Augustus had developed the habit of distributing cash to celebrate various events, in the

127 *Augustus* 101.1–2; cf. Tacitus *Annals* 1.8, Dio 56.32.

128 Champlin, *Final Judgments*, 104–25.

129 J. A. Crook, *Law and Life in Rome, 90 B.C.–A.D. 212* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1967), 21.

130 Champlin, *Final Judgments*, 11–13.

tradition of triumphing generals. However, this distribution to mark his death was performed through his heirs Tiberius and Livia, who were thus set up immediately as benefactors of a wide variety of Romans. Augustus' will created an economic relationship between his heirs and citizens, praetorians, city police, and enlisted soldiers. Moreover, his will had to be accepted if all those people were to receive their cash.

Second, Tiberius and Livia inherited much more than money. Recall that many slaves and freedmen involved in civic and provincial administration were owned by Augustus;¹³¹ thus his heirs inherited civil servants. These inherited parts of the administration became an important and documentable form of continuity between emperors.¹³² Under Augustus, it was difficult to distinguish state funds from his private accounts and to determine the public or private status of the slaves and freedmen supervising them. Tiberius and other heirs may well have inherited responsibility to pay the salaries of the night-watchmen, the workers at public baths, and the emperor's private German bodyguard, among many others. Vast provincial properties were certainly kept inside the family, administered as their own city-states. In a variety of ways, Tiberius and Livia inherited parts of the government through Augustus' will.

Finally, the funeral of Augustus and other posthumous honors voted him reinforced the unusual status of his family and all its members. Augustus designed the funeral himself, leaving instructions among the documents to be opened upon his death.¹³³ Various additions were proposed in the senate, among which Tiberius selected those finally added to the ceremony.¹³⁴ Three statues of Augustus led the funeral procession: one wax image atop his coffin, carried from his house on the Palatine by the magistrates-elect, a gold statue brought from the senate house, and another in a triumphal chariot.¹³⁵ Carrying the body from the private home, where it was prepared for burial by the family, was quite traditional,¹³⁶ but the inclusion of public statues from public spaces added a civic aspect to this element of the rite. The three statues, in fact, summarize neatly three sources of authority in Augustan Rome: the imperial house, the senate, and the military.

Behind these statues followed people carrying the wax masks of his famous ancestors except for Caesar, who had been deified. Display in funeral processions was one of the primary functions of these family *imagines*.¹³⁷ However, included along with Augustus' ancestors in this presentation were images "of

131 See above, Chapter 6.

132 Weaver, *Familia Caesaris*, 2–7.

133 Dio 56.33, Suetonius *Augustus* 101, Tacitus *Annals* 1.11.

134 Tacitus *Annals* 1.8, Dio 56.46–47.1.

135 Dio 56.34.1–2.

136 Harmon, "Family Festivals," 1600–3.

137 Flower, *Ancestor Masks*, 91–127.

the other Romans who had been prominent in any way," including Romulus and Pompey.¹³⁸ Much like the display of the great men of Roman history in the "atrium" of the *Forum Augustum*, the inclusion of non-Julians among Augustus' ancestors in his funeral procession illustrated his status as the descendant of the family of Rome, not just his own private family. Augustus was mourned and buried as the *Pater Patriae*.

This group of statues and images processed to the Roman forum, where the burial couch was placed on the public rostra. From that spot, Drusus read a eulogy, and then Tiberius delivered a second eulogy from the rostra attached to the Temple of Divus Julius opposite. Interestingly, Dio describes Drusus' speech as presenting "those things which should be spoken privately and by the relatives over the dead Augustus," and Tiberius' speech as the senatorially approved public speech.¹³⁹ Notice the contrast between the private and public speeches and the private and public rostra – an apparent contrast which reveals the degree to which Augustus' family was woven into the fabric of Roman public traditions. Additionally, the presence of Tiberius in front of the Temple of Julius drew attention to Augustus' imminent deification and Tiberius' status as an imminent *Divi filius*, son of a god.¹⁴⁰

The mix of public and private continued throughout the ceremony. After the speeches, the procession moved through a triumphal gate to the Campus Martius. The senators, the *equites*, their wives, and the praetorian guard also took part in the parade. State religious and military honors were performed; the funeral pyre was circled by the priests, equestrians civic and military, and finally the infantry. After the soldiers had dedicated all the military awards they had received under Augustus, centurions lit the pyre. Livia and prominent equestrians kept vigil for five days, and then gathered the bones and interred them in Augustus' mausoleum.¹⁴¹ Augustus was thus buried in the manner appropriate to the father of a prominent household and the father of the state, and by representatives of both.

All of these ceremonies not only honored the man Augustus, but set up his confirmed family heir to be the new head of state. The honors suggested in the senate for Tiberius reveal the degree to which he was recognized as the new Augustus: that the month of September, i.e. the month after August, be named after him, that he receive the *praenomen Imperator*, the title *Pater Patriae*, and the civic crown.¹⁴² Most of these he did not accept, but their mere suggestion confirmed his conceptual status as the father of Rome.

One might wonder, of course, why Tiberius would specifically refuse the

138 Dio 56.34.2–3.

139 56.35.1; cf. Suetonius *Augustus* 100.3.

140 On the process of Augustus' deification, see Beard, North, and Price, *Religions of Rome*, I:208–9.

141 Dio 56.42; cf. Tacitus *Annals* 1.8, Suetonius *Augustus* 100.2–4.

142 Suetonius *Tiberius* 26.

title *Pater Patriae*, if this formed such a critical conceptual part of his authority. To understand Tiberius' action here, we need to turn to the unusual honors suggested at the same time for his co-heir, his mother, Livia. After all, Augustus also created an unusual status for his widow in the proceedings we have discussed. For example, although it was not unknown to name one's wife a partial heir, it seems to have been more common to provide for her through a legacy.¹⁴³ Traditions of the Roman family dictated that Augustus should include Livia in his will; however, because his family had become part of the state, her large inheritance as a co-heir of Tiberius made her a public figure. Livia may well have inherited civil servants and parts of the imperial state much in the way Tiberius did; inscriptions confirm their joint inheritance of many individual slaves.¹⁴⁴ The unusualness of her situation was also recognized in the will through her new names. Livia was adopted into the Julian family and, like Tiberius, was bequeathed the *cognomen* "August."¹⁴⁵ This made Livia and her son a part of the same family, but, even more significantly, Livia's new name, Julia Augusta, constantly reminded everyone of her status as Augustus' widow and Tiberius' joint heir. Velleius refers to Livia as Augustus' widow and daughter,¹⁴⁶ showing how seriously Livia's adoption into the Julian *gens* was taken. We have no known precedent for a Roman husband adopting his wife. Augustus' testamentary grant to Livia of a one-third inheritance and her new name and title deliberately went beyond what was necessary to provide for a widow, and thus established for her a public role beside her son Tiberius.

Livia herself took other opportunities in the events after Augustus' death to display herself as the widow and heir of Augustus. She held a private banquet in honor of her deceased husband at her house for three days.¹⁴⁷ This was related to traditional family feasts associated with the day of the funeral and the end of the nine-day purification period,¹⁴⁸ but she invited prominent senators and equestrians to attend in addition to relatives. Tiberius, recognizing the political nature of the event, had the banquet approved by senatorial decree. Similarly, Livia personally paid the senator who claimed to have seen Augustus' ascension to heaven.¹⁴⁹ When her husband was subsequently declared divine, Livia helped Tiberius build and dedicate the temple and became the chief priestess of Divus Augustus herself. In this capacity, she founded the annual Palatine Games in his honor on the anniversary of their wedding,¹⁵⁰ and the senators even permitted her to be accompanied by a lictor

143 Champlin, *Final Judgments*, 122.

144 For example, *CIL* 6.4770, 14843, 8913, 4358, 5226, 5316, 5745, 8989, 9066, 33275, 37661. See Weaver, *Familia Caesaris*, 62.

145 Tacitus *Annals* 1.8.

146 2.75.3; cf. *DCIP* 50.

147 Dio 56.46.5.

148 Harmon, "Family Festivals," 1600–3.

149 Dio 56.46.2.

150 Tacitus *Annals* 1.73; Gag  , *Res Gestae*, 166.



Figure 8.1 Sardonyx cameo of Livia holding a radiate-crowned bust of the Divine Augustus. Her priestly status is communicated through her veil, as well as by attributes of divinity, including the mural crown, poppies and lion of Cybele, the wheat sheafs of Ceres, and the off-the-shoulder dress of Venus. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum IX A 95, museum photo.

while performing her sacred duties.¹⁵¹ Statues and cameo gems have been identified that depict and celebrate Livia as Augustus' priestess (Figure 8.1).¹⁵² Livia deliberately shaped a public role for herself, with all the traditional trappings, out of the unusual status of her family and the importance that status had for the successful transfer of power to Tiberius.

Others recognized the public stature of the widow of the newest Roman god. The senate suggested honors for Livia including naming the month of October for her and giving her a title analogous to Augustus', such as *Parens*

151 Dio 56.46.

152 Wood, *Imperial Women*, 114–16, 119–21; Bartman, *Portraits of Livia*, 102–8; Winkes, *Livia, Octavia, Julia*, 49–50.

Patriae, “Parent of the Fatherland,” or *Mater Patriae*, “Mother of the Fatherland.”¹⁵³ Tiberius would not allow these and demanded moderation in the honoring of women.¹⁵⁴ The problem such honors created for Tiberius is clear in one of the other proposals, namely that “Son of Julia” be added to his official titles.¹⁵⁵ How could Tiberius be the father of the family of state if he was the son of the *Mater Patriae*? Who was really in charge? We shall see in the next chapter some of the broader implications of Livia’s unusual status, but this general context may well reveal why Tiberius rejected honorific titles based on familial relationships.

Many of our sources discuss the high level of tension in Rome and throughout the empire upon the death of Augustus.¹⁵⁶ Rebellions broke out on the frontiers, rioting occurred in the city, and senators disagreed about what should be done. The death of the savior of the state from civil wars could never be taken as a good omen. However, Tiberius was well entrenched. He already had all of Augustus’ magisterial powers before his father’s death, he continued to act as the commander-in-chief of the armed forces and as a holder of tribunician power throughout the discussions and ceremonies surrounding Augustus’ demise. His inheritance as Augustus’ primary heir was immediately confirmed, and he supervised the funeral ceremony carefully designed to present his father as the *Pater Patriae*. As Levick notes, by now there was nothing left for the senators to vote him in terms of power or authority.¹⁵⁷ What was left was to recognize the inevitable, if they recognized it as a change at all. As Tacitus points out:

Domi res tranquillae, eadem magistratuum vocabula; iuniores post Actiacam victoriam, etiam senes plerique inter bella civium nati: quotus quisque reliquus qui rem publicam vidisset?

Things at home were peaceful, the magistrates had the same names; the younger men had been born after the victory at Actium, and even most older men had been born amidst the civil wars. How many were left who had seen the *res publica*?¹⁵⁸

The nature and structure of the Roman *res publica* had been permanently transformed. Whatever the senators decided to vote Tiberius, either to honor him or to save face themselves, they would have found it next to impossible to separate power from the family of Augustus.

153 Suetonius *Tiberius* 26.2, Tacitus *Annals* 1.14.

154 Tacitus *Annals* 1.14.

155 Tacitus *Annals* 1.14, Suetonius *Tiberius* 50.2.

156 Velleius 2.124, Dio 47.2, Tacitus *Annals* 1.7, 1.16.

157 *Tiberius the Politician*, 75.

158 *Annals* 1.3.

THE BIRTH OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE

At the death of Augustus in 14 C.E., the family was the medium through which imperial power was successfully transmitted to his successor, Tiberius. In recognition of this, an increased emphasis on the imperial family as a unit developed around the time of Tiberius' accession. In the first few years of his sole rule, innovations in imagery, language, and ceremony marked the transformation of the imperial family into a public institution.

The effects of this development, at least among the elite, were manifold. Important shifts in gender roles are evident in Livia's public position. Familial images of political authority complicated the relationship of Livia to the community, and during her son's rule Livia came into unprecedented public prominence. Not only did she maximize the opportunities offered her within the changing political structure, but she served as a model for other women who began to participate in public life in new ways. Since gender had often been used in the republic to mark the line between public and private, changes in gender roles and rules underscore how the transformation of one family into the locus of power in Roman society created deep changes for the aristocracy. Other changes are revealed by a broader survey of how elite men and women outside the imperial family were affected by the development of an imperial family. Since public figures within the imperial house were lauded in familial contexts and for domestic virtues, other aristocrats also came to be publicly praised and punished in familial terms, as we see in eulogies, law cases, monuments, and inscriptions. Within just a few years of the second emperor's accession to power, an imperial state – interwoven with, governed, and changed by a Roman family and all its characteristic social dynamics – had been born.

DOMUS AUGUSTA: A NEW LANGUAGE FOR A NEW ORDER

The pivotal role played by family in the transfer of power to Tiberius is revealed by the contemporary development of a visual and linguistic vocabulary to discuss this new political entity. Ovid began to use the word *domus*, “house,”

in connection with the imperial family while in exile after 8 C.E., and his literary construction of the power dynamics within and around this house confirms its growing role in the community. Moreover, the year after Augustus' death, a senator dedicated a statue group of the deified Augustus and the *domus Aug.* in the city of Rome.¹ Similar groups sprang up across the empire, and public monuments from coins to triumphal arches began to incorporate familial images in unprecedented ways. Finally, official documents such as senatorial decrees began to recognize not just the position of Tiberius as a head of state, but also the public roles of the other members of his family, as well as the hierarchic relationship of that family to other Roman political groups. In this new discourse we will even see *pietas*, religious and familial devotion, used to describe political loyalty. The experimental mixing of traditionally distinct public and private images and terms by poets, artists, and senators helped make Augustus' family a public institution.

Ovid

P. Ovidius Naso came of age soon after the Battle of Actium. As Millar points out, unlike Vergil and Livy, Ovid thus spent his entire adulthood and productive literary life under Augustus and Tiberius' imperial rule.² Although his various works can be read as subversive critiques of the Augustan regime³ and/or expressions of overt loyalty to it,⁴ they operate within the changing political circumstances and cultural constructions of the new imperial system. As either a critic or loyalist, Ovid provides important reactions to and formulations of the role of the imperial family in Rome.

In particular, the earliest surviving examples of the use of the term *domus Augusta* occur in Ovid's poetry.⁵ He began to employ the Latin word for a physical house, *domus*, in reference to the family of Augustus in the revisions of the *Fasti* after his exile in 8 C.E. and then even more frequently in the *Tristia*, written between 9 and 12, and the *Letters from Pontus*, written between 12 and 16 C.E.⁶ Thus, the term "domus Augusta" developed at the end of Augustus' and the beginning of Tiberius' principate.⁷ *Domus* was a useful term in the context of Augustus' family.⁸ The Roman *familia* had a strict legal composi-

1 *Tabula Siarensis* I.10–11.

2 Fergus Millar, "Ovid and the *Domus Augusta*: Rome Seen from Tomoi," *Journal of Roman Studies* 83 (1993): 1–17.

3 M. K. Gamel, "Introduction," *Helios* 12 (1985).

4 Millar, "Ovid."

5 Flory, "Dynastic Ideology," 293; F. Bömer, *P. Ovidius Naso: Die Fasten* (Heidelberg: C. Winter, 1957–8), 2.701.

6 *Fasti*: 1.532, 701, 721; 6.810; *Tristia*: 1.2.101, 3.1.41, 4.2.10; *Letters from Pontus*: 2.1.18, 2.2.49, 74; 3.3.87; 4.6.20; 4.9.109; cited in Flory, "Livia," 293.

7 F. Bömer, *Ovidius Naso*, 2.701.

8 Flory, "Dynastic Ideology," 292.

tion based on descent from and ownership by the *pater*,⁹ whereas Augustus' family was artificially created through adoption and endogamous marriages. In the republic, the word "house" had been used by extension to indicate the family and slaves who lived within a dwelling, and on occasion even a more broadly defined group of relatives.¹⁰ Its use increased dramatically, however, among the aristocracy of the early empire – when family names were no longer needed to win elections and connections through the women of the house became as important as those through men, the social family changed from the *familia* to the *domus*.¹¹ New value also became attached to the word due to its association with the imperial family.

Ovid uses the term *domus* to discuss the import of Augustus' family. For example, in imagining the triumph of Tiberius over the Germans in c. 10 C.E. from his remote island of exile, Ovid places this family not just within, but above other structures of the Roman public community:

Iam fera Caesaribus Germania, totus ut orbis,
victa potest flexo succubuisse genu.
Altaque velentur fortasse Palatia sertis,
turaque in igne sonent inficiantque diem,
candidaque adducta collum percussa securi
victima purpureo sanguine pulset humum,
donaque amicorum templis promissa deorum
reddere victores Caesar uterque parent,
et qui Caesareo iuvenes sub nomine crescunt,
perpetuo terras ut domus illa regat,
cumque bonis nuribus pro sospite Livia nato
munera det meritis, saepe datura, deis,
et pariter matres et quae sine crimine castos
perpetua servant virginitate focos;
plebs pia cumque pia laetetur plebe senatus,
parvaque cuius eram pars ego nuper eques.

Already fierce Germany, conquered, like the whole world,
may have succumbed on bent knee to the Caesars.
And perhaps the high Palatine is covered in garlands,
and incense crackles in the fire and hazes the day,
and the white victim struck at the neck by the raised axe
beats the earth with red-purple blood,
and the gifts promised to the temples of the friendly gods
the victors, each a Caesar, prepare to bestow,

9 Ulpian *Digest* 50.16.195.1–4; Saller, "Familia, domus," 337–41.

10 E.g., Cicero *On Duties* 1.58.

11 Saller, "Familia, domus," 342–52.

as well as those young men who grow under the name Caesar,
 so that that *domus* may rule the lands perpetually.
 And Livia, with her good daughters-in-law, on behalf of her fortunate
 son,
 may be giving rewards to the worthy gods, gifts she will often
 make,
 and likewise mothers and those who, chaste and without reproach,
 keep the hearths with perpetual virginity;
 the devoted *plebs* are delighted, and the senate with the devoted *plebs*,
 and the equestrian order, of which I was recently a small part.¹²

The repetition of the name Caesar here shows that the terminology for the imperial house at this point was still being invented;¹³ “Augustus” would be preferred for the emperor later on. Still, the *domus* of the Caesars, including its male and female constituents, is presented as a permanent fixture of Rome. The mistress of the house, Livia, leads its children in making offerings at this state ceremony of military victory, a public role explained by comparison to the Vestal Virgins, women who had for generations tended a hearth of the state. The *plebs*, the senate, and the equestrian order are finally presented after the imperial family, the “domus” which will “rule perpetually.” Moreover, the political loyalty of the plebeians to that house is expressed by the adjective for familial and religious devotion, *pia*. Ovid was experimenting with both civic and familial terms to create a language for a family model of government.

Later, Augustus let it be known that Tiberius would inherit his *cognomen* “Augustus,”¹⁴ and Ovid began to stress this adjective in relation to the family, while “Caesar” dropped out. This is the context in which the precise phrase *domus Augusta* was first employed, in the second book of Ovid’s *Letters from Exile*, written early in 13 C.E.¹⁵ The poem invokes its purported recipient, Ovid’s friend Messalinus, to petition Augustus on Ovid’s behalf, now that Augustus should be in a good mood:

Tempus adest aptum precibus. Valet ille videtque
 quas fecit vires, Roma, valere tuas.
 incolumis coniunx sua pulvinaria servat,
 promovet Ausonium filius imperium.
 praeterit ipse suos animo Germanicus annos
 nec vigor est Drusi nobilitate minor.
 adde nurus neptesque pias natosque nepotum
 ceteraque Augustae membra valere domus.

12 *Tristia* 4.2.1–16. Note, however, that this triumph was never actually held.

13 Cf. *Tristia* 1.2.100–5.

14 Suetonius *Tiberius* 17.

15 Flory, “Dynastic Ideology,” 293–4.

The time is right for prayers. The man is well and he sees
 that your strength, Rome, which he has made, is also well.
 His inviolate wife keeps his sacred couch,
 his son advances the Italian empire.
 Germanicus himself surpasses his years with his spirit,
 the vitality of Drusus is no less than his nobility.
 Add that the daughters-in-law and loyal granddaughters, the sons of
 grandsons,
 and the remaining members of the *domus Augusta* are well.¹⁶

Here the mix of public and private is more subtle. Ovid draws the image of an ideal and traditional household: the matron is watching the house, symbolized by the marriage bed; the adult son is out doing his duty, the grandsons are promising young men. These duties and behaviors of the members of the imperial family, however, ensure the safety of the state; they illustrate how “your strength, Rome, which he has made, is well.” In turn, this entire construct of Livia, Tiberius, Germanicus, Drusus, granddaughters, daughters-in-law, and great-grandsons is gathered under the title *domus Augusta*, the first known use of the term. Through it, all the members of that special group become important to the health of the state, not just one heir or successor; the house and its significance will outlive its individual occupants.

Finally, after Augustus’ death, not just Tiberius but also Livia received the name “August,” which became an important unifying feature of the imperial house. Ovid draws particular attention to the name in a passage of the *Fasti* revised in this period, a prophecy of the goddess Carmentis:

Tempus erit cum vos orbemque tuebitur idem,
 et fient ipso sacra colente deo,
 et penes Augustos patriae tutela manebit:
 hanc fas imperii frena tenere domum.
 Inde nepos natusque dei, licet ipse recuset,
 pondera caelesti mente paterna feret;
 utque ego perpetuis olim sacrabor in aris,
 sic Augusta novum Iulia numen erit.

There will be a time when the same one will protect all of you and the world,
 and sacrifices will be made by a worshiping god himself,
 and the guardianship of the fatherland will remain in the power of the Augusti:
 it is right that this *domus* hold the reins of the empire.

¹⁶ *Letters from Pontus* 2.2.66–75.

From here the grandson and son of a god, although he himself may refuse,

will bear his father's burdens with a celestial mind;
and just as I shall one day be worshiped at perpetual altars,
so Julia Augusta will be a new divinity.¹⁷

Ovid again employs the word *domus* to signify the family which produces Rome's leaders, and he identifies the house in question with the name "August." Moreover, although the passage is about Tiberius' assumption of Augustus' public role, the rightness of this is communicated through the sanctity of the line and household in general, making a much more broad statement about imperial power than that Tiberius should be in charge. The *domus* of Augustus had become a phenomenon, and a vocabulary was developing to talk about it in suitable terms.

Ovid frequently expresses the extreme specialness of this imperial "house" through reference to divinity. Sometimes he relates this directly to the deification of Caesar, Augustus, and/or Livia (Julia Augusta),¹⁸ but in other examples divinity is cast more broadly.¹⁹ The most concrete expression of this comes in Ovid's literary description of his household shrine, with silver statuettes of Augustus, Tiberius, and Livia,²⁰ to which he later adds statues of the next generation, Germanicus and Drusus, lest "any part of the *domus* be missing."²¹ The worship of the members of the imperial house in private family shrines extended from the construction of Augustus as a father of state, which is emphasized by Ovid's offering of prayers and incense to these images particularly on the birthday of the *pater*.²² However, this worship also expresses the unusual, almost superhuman status Augustus' politicized family came to possess. Such rituals, or even just literary imaginings of them, placed emphasis not just on Tiberius as successor, but on the sacrality of his house as a whole and the extension of imperial power into succeeding generations as a natural result.

As a distant spectator of events in Rome, but one who wanted desperately to be recalled from exile by Augustus or Tiberius, Ovid usefully distills and interprets for us the composition of the contemporary imperial family and the presentation of its role in the community. The poet experiments with words to identify this group, such as "domus," "Caesar," and "August," and ways of expressing its special status, particularly by evoking the divine. Much in the way that Vergil's *Aeneid* helped imagine paternal authority as a way of expressing Augustus' power, Ovid may well have helped shape and define the

17 *Fasti* 1.529–36.

18 *Fasti* 1.530–6, *Letters from Pontus* 4.13.25–33.

19 "Sacra domus" in *Fasti* 6.810; cf. 1.701.

20 *Letters from Pontus* 2.8.1–10.

21 *Letters from Pontus* 4.9.105–12.

22 *Letters from Pontus* 4.9.111–16.

authority of the imperial family at this later stage in the empire's development. But even if we only read him as reacting to earlier developments of terminology and ideology in Rome, he still provides critical evidence for the nature of these terms and ideas. As Millar argues, "If we are to understand the revolution of consciousness brought about by the emergence of a monarch from within the traditional *res publica*, it is here, and not with the great writers of a generation, or half-generation, earlier, that we should begin."²³ Ovid's poetry evinces the rise of a language to identify and discuss the imperial family as an institution.

Images and ceremonies

Visual representations of the *domus Augusta* developed along with words and phrases for this new institution. In 15 C.E., the consul C. Norbanus Flaccus erected statues of the "Deified Augustus and the *domus August[ita]*" in the Circus Flaminius,²⁴ while similar statue groups sprang up across Italy and the empire. Familial images, including women and children, also appeared in other public monuments and ceremonies in innovative ways. Such representations gave an unprecedented public status to individual members of the imperial family besides the emperor through their relationship to the August house, and they reveal that the family of Augustus itself was becoming recognizable as a public institution.

In prescribing the location of an arch in honor of the recently deceased Germanicus in 19 C.E., one of the decrees inscribed on the *Tabula Siarensis* reveals that "in circo Flaminio . . . statuae Divo Augusto domuique Augus[tae iam dedicatae es]sent ab C(aio) Norbano Flacco," "in the Circus Flaminius . . . statues to the Divine Augustus and to the *domus Augusta* had already been dedicated by Gaius Norbanus Flaccus."²⁵ Flaccus was consul in the first half of 15 C.E.,²⁶ so the statue group probably formed part of the posthumous honors of Augustus, who had died in 14. We do not know who was depicted in this representation of the *domus Augusta*,²⁷ but the use of the term to describe the group is itself significant. To honor Augustus, the monument recognized the line he had created, which also served to support the status of his heir, Tiberius, who was presumably one of those represented. A statue group was a relatively

23 "Ovid," 7.

24 *Tabula Siarensis* I.10–11.

25 I.1–10.

26 Flory, "Dynastic Ideology," 288; cf. Tacitus *Annals* 1.55.1, *RE* 17 (1936) 934–5, *CIL* 6.37836, A. E. Gordon, "On the Date of the Consul Suffect, A.D. 15," *Classical Philology* 50 (1955): 194.

27 Flory, "Dynastic Ideology," suggests Augustus, Tiberius, Livia, Germanicus, and Drusus, much like Ovid's household shrine of the imperial family; *Letters from Pontus* 2.8.1–10, 4.9.105–12. Rose, *Dynastic Commemoration*, 22, adds Gaius and Lucius, who were legally brothers of Tiberius and whose inclusion thus reinforced the image of a united family. See also Richardson, *Topographical Dictionary*, 26.

unusual monument in Rome, and the ensemble did not just honor the individuals depicted, but recognized that this family as an entity had a special status as well.

Moreover, the area in which these statues were erected added to their meaning. The Circus Flaminius hosted part of the triumphal procession and many republican triumphal monuments, imbuing the statue group with overtones of victory.²⁸ Because of these very associations, moreover, the circus was also the site of buildings such as the Theater of Marcellus and Porticus of Octavia, some of the first monuments to celebrate individual members of Augustus' family (Figure 4.4). This statue group may well have been intended to mark the imperial family's complete assumption of responsibility for victory; it not only recognized but helped define the imperial family's public roles.

Interestingly, individual monuments to Tiberius or to Tiberius and Augustus are known,²⁹ but many of the imperial statues of the early Tiberian period were displayed in family groups. The physical remains of such groups have been found around Italy and the provinces, attesting to the spread of the concept of a collective memorial to the imperial house as a means of honoring the new emperor. For example, a set of portrait statues from Oriculum in Umbria includes Augustus, Livia, Gaius, and Nero, the son of Germanicus; images of Tiberius and Lucius, and perhaps Germanicus and Drusus the Younger, were presumably present, but did not survive.³⁰ In Volterra, statues of Augustus, Tiberius, and Livia were found in the remains of the theater.³¹ In the western empire, Tiberian-period statues of Tiberius, Livia, Drusus the Younger, Germanicus, and his son Nero were added to an original pair of Julia and Agrippa, in Baeterrae, Gaul.³² In turn, inscribed statue bases to Livia and Tiberius have been found in Lycia in the east.³³

Similar groups were set up specifically in association with new ceremonies of the imperial cult. Many of these adapted older cult forms honoring Augustus. For example, in Forum Clodii in Latium, an inscribed decree of the city government of 18 C.E. mentions statues of Augustus, Tiberius, and Livia.³⁴ The decree establishes a public sacrifice and games to be held in honor of Augustus on his birthday, a public banquet and sacrifice for Tiberius on his birthday, and that wine and cakes be given to the women worshipers of Bona Dea on Livia's birthday. In addition, wine and cakes were to be distributed to the local magistrates and the people of Forum Clodii on the anniversary of the dedication of the new statues. These images of Augustus, Tiberius, and Livia

28 Flory, "Dynastic Ideology," 288–9, 302.

29 DCIP 77, Rose, *Dynastic Commemoration*, 145–6.

30 DCIP 25, Rose, *Dynastic Commemoration*, 98.

31 DCIP 51.

32 DCIP 52; Rose, *Dynastic Commemoration*, 127–8.

33 DCIP 102, IGR 3.720, 721; cf. DCIP 65.

34 CIL 11.3303, DCIP 11.



(a)



(b)

Figure 9.1 Statues from the imperial family group in Ocrinum, Umbria. Tiberian period. (a) Livia. (b) Nero Caesar, son of Germanicus. Vatican Museums, 637, 2622. Photos by Rossa, courtesy of the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Rome, 78.75, 1408.

are located in a new shrine near a preexisting *Ara Numini Augusto*, “Altar to the August Divine Spirit,” presumably located in the forum.³⁵ As Augustus, Tiberius, and Livia now all shared the name “August,” the altar honoring the first emperor continued to serve the second in the form of a cult of the August family.

Another inscription records similar adaptations of the imperial cult celebrated at Gytheum, near Sparta.³⁶ The last three days of the new eight-day festival honored Titus Quinctius Flamininus, a Roman general active in Greece in the early second century B.C.E., and two local benefactors, presumably preserving an older holiday. However, the first five days now honored Augustus,

³⁵ Rose, *Dynastic Commemoration*, 88–9.

³⁶ SEG 11.922–3, DCIP 74.

Tiberius, Livia, Germanicus, and Drusus. In the decree, all of them are transformed into venerable deities in one way or another: Augustus is celebrated as the Deified Savior Liberator, Tiberius as Father of his Country, and Livia as the Tyche or Fortune of the people and city of Gytheum, while the fourth day honored the Nike or Victory of Germanicus, and the fifth the Aphrodite of Drusus. The Gytheum civic festival forms a striking parallel to Ovid's personal shrine, which featured statues of Augustus, Tiberius, Livia, Germanicus, and Drusus as objects of veneration.³⁷ These five may well have been the core of the *domus Augusta* monumentalized in the Circus Flaminius in Rome.³⁸

At Gytheum, each day's religious procession paused for sacrifices at a Temple of Caesar,³⁹ which had probably been dedicated much earlier, but was now adapted to serve as a site for the collective commemoration of the Caesars. In turn, at the end of the procession, images of Augustus the Father, Julia Augusta, and *Imperator* Tiberius Caesar Augustus – clearly designed as an “August” family group – were set up in the theater and received offerings.⁴⁰ A similar family monument was created out of an earlier shrine to Augustus in Ancyra; a local priest of the cult of Augustus and Roma dedicated new statues of Tiberius Caesar Augustus and Julia Augusta, probably alongside the earlier cult images.⁴¹

Local impulses and creativity drove the development of these images and ceremonies. We can perceive this in a popular alternative to honoring Tiberius as part of the *domus Augusta*, namely recalling his family's genealogical ties to Aeneas. The inhabitants of Bovillae in Italy preferred to honor the imperial family as the *gens Julia* due to local associations with the legends of the Julian family;⁴² in 16 C.E., a shrine was dedicated there to the Julian clan and a statue erected of the deified Augustus.⁴³ A coin image suggests that a temple was dedicated at Corinth to the Julian *gens* as well.⁴⁴ Aphrodisians made great use of the tie of the Julian family to Venus/Aphrodite, the patron goddess of their city; the propylon to the Julio-Claudian Sebasteion mixes Tiberian-period statues of Aphrodite and her son Aeneas with images of their descendants Drusus the Younger, his daughter Julia, and Gaius and Lucius.⁴⁵ Recall that

37 *Letters from Pontus* 2.8.1–10, 4.9.105–12.

38 Flory, “Dynastic Ideology.”

39 *SEG* 11.922–3, *DCIP* 74, lines 25–30.

40 *SEG* 11.922–3, *DCIP* 74, lines 1–10.

41 *IGR* 3.157, Rose, *Dynastic Commemoration*, 161; cf. *DCIP* 125, Rose, *Dynastic Commemoration*, 182–3, *DCIP* 8.

42 Weinstock, *Divus Julius*, 5–7.

43 Tacitus *Annals* 2.41.1.

44 M. Amandry, *Le monnayage des duovirs corinthiens* (Paris: de Boccard, 1988), 61–2; *RPC* 1151–61.

45 *DCIP* 103.

the Gytheum festival also included a day in honor of the Aphrodite of Drusus the Younger.⁴⁶

Such groups and ceremonies reveal a great deal of local creativity and hint at an array of audiences and messages. However, all these methods employed to honor the new emperor – including emphasizing the name “August,” employing the legends of the *gens Julia*, and worshiping his family at a Temple of Caesar – honor Tiberius and his heirs not as individuals, but as part of a special group. This reflects the fact that Tiberius’ position grew from his familial relationship to Augustus. As a result, however, these cults and monuments helped shape and promote the imperial family as an institution.

Moreover, these composite monuments are not just unusual because they depict a group or family; they also include elements not found in Roman group monuments when they were made, namely, women and children. For example, republican triumphal arches were sometimes decorated with statues of the famous men of a particular family, and coins often advertised the legendary ancestors of their minters.⁴⁷ However, women and children were extremely rare in republican public imagery and appeared even in Augustan art relatively infrequently.⁴⁸ In contrast, not only do the monumental groups of the Tiberian period regularly contain statues of women and children, but other forms of public imagery began to celebrate them as well. The presence of the traditionally private members of a Roman family in these public monuments emphasized the family identity of the group depicted. Moreover, the dramatic changes in conventions about gender and age in the public art of this period underscore the changing conception of the relationship between family and state in the case of the imperial house.⁴⁹

A particularly striking example is found on military rank insignia produced along the Rhine-Danube frontier under Tiberius. Glass paste *phalerae*, or military decorations, portray a cuirassed general surrounded by the heads of three small children,⁵⁰ a similar man with two children, and women and men alone (Figures 9.2 and 9.3).⁵¹ The portraits are agreed to be Julio-Claudian, but some debate has surrounded their precise identification.⁵² Rose observes the similarity of the general with three children to portraits of Germanicus, and thus identifies the small heads as his children Caligula, Agrippina the Younger, and Drusilla, all of whom lived with their father in the camps on the

46 SEG 11.922.10–15; cf. IGR 4.206.

47 Asconius *Against Piso* 44, CIL 6.1303, 1304, 31593, ILS 43, RRC 506/1, 458. See Figure 1.4.

48 The Ara Pacis of c. 13 B.C.E. forms a notable exception; see Chapter 5.

49 For more on changing gender roles in the early imperial period, see below.

50 Rose, *Dynastic Commemoration*, 24.

51 Toynbee and Richmond, “Roman Glass *phalera*.”

52 D. Boschung, “Römische Glasphalerae mit Porträtbüsten,” *Bonner Jahrbücher des Rheinischen Landesmuseums* 187 (1987): 193–258.



Figure 9.2 Military decoration made of glass paste showing a general surrounded by the heads of three children, perhaps Germanicus with his children Caligula, Agrippina the Younger, and Drusilla. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum AS.XI.b.8, museum photo III 26598.



Figure 9.3 Glass paste military decoration with a portrait of a woman, probably Agrippina the Elder, wife of Germanicus. Musée romain d'Avenches, photo courtesy of the museum.

German frontier.⁵³ By analogy, the man with two children may well be Drusus the Younger, with his twins, born in 19 C.E.⁵⁴ Since these medallions were issued in sets,⁵⁵ we can imagine that the remaining individual portraits depicted the men and women from the statue groups discussed above.⁵⁶

Regardless of the precise identifications, images of women and children in a distinctly military context are noteworthy. We have seen that Augustus began the military training of the young men of his house early, and that he worked to evoke a personal loyalty to his family among the soldiery.⁵⁷ However, these

⁵³ Rose, *Dynastic Commemoration*, 24.

⁵⁴ Cf. Toynbee and Richmond, "Roman Glass *phalera*," 45; Rose, *Dynastic Commemoration*, plate 18.

⁵⁵ Toynbee and Richmond, "Roman Glass *phalera*," 45.

⁵⁶ In "Roman Glass *phalera*," Toynbee and Richmond suggest a set of insignia including portraits of Tiberius, Livia, Germanicus, his mother Antonia, his wife Agrippina, their son Nero, and Tiberius' son Drusus.

⁵⁷ See above, Chapter 4.

military decorations depicting generals as fathers with infant children go a step further. Interestingly, they reflect parallel extremes occurring in life. Under Augustus, elite women began accompanying their husbands on assignments to the provinces. Under Tiberius, this practice intensified, and many of Germanicus and Agrippina's children were born in the military camps under his command in Germany;⁵⁸ his son Gaius' nickname "Caligula," "Little Boots," was given him as a joke by soldiers.⁵⁹ In their experience of their winter quarters, legionary soldiers found their commanders to have distinctly familial public identities, an idea repeated on their medals and decorations.

Early Tiberian coin types reflect a similar phenomenon and, with the statue groups, help us take these changes beyond the confines of the imperial military. Of particular interest is the image of two young boys emerging from crossed cornucopias, identified as the twin sons of Drusus the Younger and Livilla (Figure 9.4). In turn, we will discuss in detail below a set of coins celebrating Livia as Julia Augusta (Figures 9.6 and 9.7). Traditions of Roman coin iconography were strict along lines of age and gender, that is, along lines of public and private; outside of the triumviral period, women and children had appeared on coins extremely rarely. Under Augustus, Julia and her sons Gaius and Lucius were celebrated on coins of 13–12 B.C.E. during the early, experimental stages of Augustus' presentation of his own authority as a form of fatherhood (Figure 3.4). Otherwise, although innovations were made in the manner of honoring Augustus, numismatic traditions regarding age and gender were respected. The number and variety of tradition-breaking images minted under Tiberius confirm that in the transition to the second emperor the Romans witnessed another stage in the development of the imperial family.

Interestingly, these innovative images carved in stone and impressed on coins were played out in living color at state ceremonies. For example, during Germanicus' triumph of 17 C.E., all of his five children, including his daughters, rode with him in his chariot.⁶⁰ It was highly unusual for daughters to participate in this military parade – the only other known case involves an adult Vestal priestess.⁶¹ Germanicus' triumph thus changed the shape of this republican ceremony; he included the private members of his family due to the public status of their house and their collective responsibility for Roman military victory. The whole imperial family was unabashedly on parade. In this particular instance, the display served several purposes. As Rose points

58 Suetonius *Caligula* 8; J. Humphrey, "The Three Daughters of Agrippina Minor," *American Journal of Ancient History* 4 (1979): 125–43.

59 Suetonius *Caligula* 9, Tacitus *Annals* 1.41.

60 Tacitus *Annals* 2.41.

61 Appian Claudius, a consul of 143 B.C.E., was denied a triumph by the senate, but held one anyway. When a tribune tried to stop him, his daughter Claudia climbed into his chariot to protect him with her sacrosanctity as a Vestal Virgin, and he completed his parade; Valerius Maximus 5.4.6, Cicero *For Caelius* 34, Orosius 5.4.7, Suetonius *Tiberius* 2.



Figure 9.4 Obverse of bronze sestertius showing twin babies emerging from crossed cornucopiae, presumably the twin sons of Drusus the Younger and Livilla. BMC Tiberius 95. American Numismatic Society 1944.100.39288, museum photo.

out, Germanicus “appeared as both *triumphator* and *paterfamilias*”,⁶² in an Augustan context, he thus presented himself as the perfect imperial heir, endowed with both military and familial authority. In addition, the family of Germanicus and Agrippina had several young children in this period, and their display in public ceremonies and images confirmed the abundance provided by the imperial system as well as the long and healthy future of the imperial house and Roman empire.

A similarly dramatic change came in the decoration of the triumphal arch voted in honor of Germanicus after his death two years later. We have seen the development of a tradition of commemorating fallen princes of the imperial house with arches – Drusus the Elder received one in 9 B.C.E. and Gaius and Lucius in 4 C.E.⁶³ The monument erected for Germanicus, however, broke new iconographic and ideological ground. The earlier imperial arches were decorated with spoils taken from conquered enemies and statues of the honorands in triumphal costumes and other military poses.⁶⁴ However, the inscription on the *Tabula Siarensis* reveals that in addition to images representing the regions conquered by Germanicus and his own statue in a triumphal chariot, his arch was to be decorated with statues of twelve members of his family.⁶⁵ So depicted were Germanicus’ natural father Drusus, his mother Antonia, his wife Agrippina, his sister Livilla, his brother Claudius, and his children Nero, Drusus, Gaius Caligula, Agrippina the Younger, Drusilla, and Julia Livilla.⁶⁶

62 *Dynastic Commemoration*, 24; cf. Humphrey, “Three Daughters,” 125.

63 Evidence for an arch of Gaius and Lucius in Rome is indirect. A decree from the town of Pisa describes an arch erected there; *CIL* 11.1421.34–7; cf. *DCIP* 28. The inference that the Pisan arch reflects a monument in the capital is strong enough to lead Rose, *Dynastic Commemoration*, 19, tentatively to identify foundation remains in the *Forum Romanum* as those of an arch for Gaius and Lucius.

64 Suetonius *Claudius* 1.3, *CIL* 11.1421.34–7.

65 I.18–21.

66 Rose, *Dynastic Commemoration*, 108–10.

The arch does not neglect the form of public service which such monuments had been developed to commemorate – military success. However, an equally large part of Germanicus' status was presented as resulting from his relations; Germanicus was a public figure because he was part of a public family.

Certain republican arches had commemorated the family of the triumphator, but through statues of the men of his family who themselves had enjoyed military and other public success.⁶⁷ The presentation of Germanicus' mother, wife, sister, and young children, in addition to his decorated father, forms a sharp contrast to the traditions of triumphal monuments and the definition of the public service which they were designed to commemorate. Because it was a posthumous honor, moreover, Rose compares the arch to aristocratic funerary parades and monuments.⁶⁸ As he points out, however, these other celebrations of family were "exclusively retrospective in scope," as were private funerary arches known from Italy, Gaul, and Istria.⁶⁹ That is, they commemorated the dead and his famous ancestors, not surviving brothers, sisters, and members of succeeding generations of the family. Germanicus' arch reflects the influence of the group monuments and other images we have already seen; under Tiberius, a new artistic tradition developed of honoring members of the imperial family by depicting them in the midst of the history and the future of the imperial family.

Finally, we should also note the significance of the location of this arch in the city of Rome. We actually hear about the group monument to Divus Augustus and the *Domus Augusta* because a senatorial decree of 19 C.E. prescribes that the Arch of Germanicus should be built next to it in the Circus Flaminius.⁷⁰ As noted in the context of those statues, this part of the city had a long history of association with the Roman triumph and monuments of the imperial family. The new arch formed a culmination of both traditions, combining images of military triumph with a family, including the triumphator's male and female parents, children, and siblings. Similar to the display of his actual triumph two years earlier, Germanicus' public success is here presented in terms of his status as a general *and* as a family man – a good son, a good husband, a good father. Now that imperial power had been transmitted through the family, relationships to the imperial house became a distinguishing feature of a man's public status.

67 Asconius *Against Piso* 44, CIL 6.1303, 1304, 31593, ILS 43.

68 *Dynastic Commemoration*, 26.

69 *Dynastic Commemoration*, 26; Fred Kleiner, *The Arch of Nero in Rome* (Rome: G. Bretschneider, 1985), 36–8, 41–3; Sandro de Maria, *Gli archi onorari di Roma e dell'Italia romana* (Rome: L'Erma di Bretschneider, 1988), nos. 33, 113.

70 *Tabula Siarensis* I.1–10.

The senatorial decree about Piso the Father

A recently unearthed inscription of a senatorial decree eloquently summarizes the degree to which the imperial family was conceptually recognized as part of the Roman government even in official documents of the early Tiberian period. The *Senatus Consultum de Pisone Patre* of 20 C.E. reports the findings of the senate against Gnaeus Piso, who had been appointed governor of Syria by Tiberius three years earlier and was implicated in a military rebellion around the time of the death of Germanicus.⁷¹ As its editors have noted, we can tell from the summarizing tone of the decree and the directions for where it was to be set up, that is, in Rome, in the most important city of each province, and in the winter quarters every legion,⁷² that the aim of the decree is to communicate to provincial governors and their soldiers what happened to a governor who rebelled, and to assert in general that now all was right with Rome. As such, this decree of 20 C.E. gives us an idealized picture of the Roman government early in the development of the principate.

The decree rhetorically presents the imperial family as an inherent, and even the most important part of the state.⁷³ A series of apparently incidental remarks communicate that the house of Augustus and its members are critical to the health and well-being of Rome. For example, as part of the description of why Germanicus was present in the east, the “problems across the seas” are defined as “requiring the presence of either Tiberius Caesar Augustus himself or one of his sons.”⁷⁴ The emperor and his heirs are thus the most capable administrators by definition. Similarly, the senators praise Tiberius’ even temper throughout the affair and pray that he and the gods will protect his surviving son, Drusus, because:

71 For the historical background to the case, see Tacitus *Annals* 2.74.2, 2.80–1. On the chronology of Piso’s trial and its aftermath, see Werner Eck, Antonio Caballos, and Fernando Fernandez, eds, *Das Senatusconsultum des Cn. Pisone Patre* (Munich: Beck, 1996), 109–21; A. J. Woodman and R. H. Martin, *The Annals of Tacitus: Book 3* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 71–9; M. Griffin, “The Senate’s Story,” *Journal of Roman Studies* 87 (1997): 71–91; David Potter, “*Senatus consultum de Cn. Pisone*,” *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 11 (1998): 452–4; Richard J. A. Talbert, “Tacitus and the *Senatus consultum de Cn. Pisone patre*,” *American Journal of Philology* 120 (1999): 89–97; and Harriet Flower, “Piso in Chicago: A Commentary on the APA/AIA Joint Seminar on the *Senatus Consultum de Cn. Pisone Patre*,” *American Journal of Philology* 120 (1999): 109–15. The decree is published in Eck, Caballos, and Fernandez, *Das Senatusconsultum*, and in Antonio Caballos, Werner Eck, and Fernando Fernandez, eds, *El Senadoconsulto de Gneo Pisone Padre* (Seville: Europa Artes Graficas, 1996). A transcription is also provided by Potter, “*Senatus consultum*.”

72 *SC de Pisone*, lines 165–73.

73 For a fuller account of the rhetoric of a family of state within the decree, see Beth Severy, “Family and State in the Early Imperial Monarchy: The *Senatus Consultum de Pisone Patre*,” Tabula Siarensis, and Tabula Hebana,” *Classical Philology* 95 (2000): 318–37.

74 Lines 31–2.

omnem spem futuram paternae pro r(e) p(ublica) stationis in uno repos[i]ta<m>, quo nomine debere eum finire dolorem ac restituere patriae suae non tantum animum, sed etiam voltum, qui publicae felicitati conveniret.

all hope for the *res publica* will be placed in someone of his father's position, in the name of which [Tiberius] ought to end his mourning and restore to the fatherland not just his spirit but his presence, as is appropriate to public prosperity.⁷⁵

The emperor and his son are not just presented as the best leaders, they are almost talismans of Rome, and the inherited position of father over their house is recognized as a public office.

Other remarks confuse outright the imperial house with the public community. A long list of institutions betrayed by the revolutionary Piso begins with "the neglected *maiestas* of the house of Augustus."⁷⁶ Compare a phrase from the *lex de Insula de Delo* of 58 B.C.E.: "[this is done] in accord with the *maiestas* and dignity of the Roman people."⁷⁷ The lines praising the Roman soldiery are even more explicit:

Item senatum probare eorum militum fidem, quorum animi frustra sollicitati essent scelere Cn. Pisonis patris, omnesq(ue), qui sub auspiciis et imperio principis nostri milites essent, quam fidem pietatemq(ue) domui Aug(ustae) p[raesta]rent, eam sperare perpetuo prastaturos, cum scirent, salutem imperi nostri in eius dom[u]<s> custodia posita<m> esse{t}, senatum arbitrari eorum curae atq(ue) officii esse, ut apud eos ii, qui quandoq(ue) e[i]<s> praesent, plurimum auctoritatis <haberent>, qui fidelissima pietate salutare huic urbi imperioq(ue) p(opuli) R(omani) nomen Caesarum coluissent.

Likewise, the senate praises the loyalty [*fides*] of those soldiers whose souls were solicited in vain by the crime of Cn. Piso the father, and the senate hopes that all soldiers who were under the auspices and the *imperium* of our *princeps*, who showed such fidelity and devotion [*pietas*] to the house of Augustus, will show this perpetually when they know that the safety of our empire is placed in the guardianship of his house; the senate decides that it be of concern and duty to them that among [the soldiers] those have most authority who, with the most

75 Lines 126–32.

76 Lines 32–3.

77 Quoted and translated by D. S. Potter, "Political Theory in the *Senatus consultum de Cn. Pisone patre*," *American Journal of Philology* 120 (1999): 69.

faithful devotion [*pietas*], hail the name of the Caesars for the sake of the city and the empire of the Roman people.⁷⁸

Military loyalty is thus defined as loyalty to the imperial house, patriotism is familial and religious devotion to the family of Augustus. The *plebs* as a group and the equestrian order are also thanked by the senators for their *pietas* to Tiberius and his family.⁷⁹ These passages use familial terms to describe the behavior of political groups, and collectively they reveal that by 20 C.E. an official language was developing to articulate the centrality of the imperial family to Roman society.

In case we miss the point, however, the last third of the decree verbally draws a diagram. At the close, the senators thank a number of people for their role in putting down the conspiracy. The praise of the soldiery just quoted concludes this series of laudations of well-defined sociopolitical groups. This is where the authors present a picture of that ordered and peaceful state to the audience of provincial governors and soldiers, and thus these praises provide for us an idealized version of the hierarchic structure of Roman society. In reverse order, the list ends with the praise of the Roman military, preceded by praise of the Roman *plebs*, a paragraph praising the *equites*, and quite significantly, the list begins with lines praising members of the imperial house individually.⁸⁰ Moreover, the decree does not just focus on the members we would expect to be participants in state affairs, such as Tiberius and his heir, Drusus. The women of the family are thanked as well, including Livia, Agrippina, Antonia, and Livilla by name. The entire Roman nuclear family has been institutionalized as a structural feature of the state.

Moreover, because a family as a unit had taken over the top of the Roman social hierarchy, the document presents the emperor within his family and lauds him for his family values. He is called "Tiberius Caesar Augustus, son of the deified Augustus" the first time he is named in the decree. Moreover, the first specified reason for which the senators praise him is that "Tiberius Caesar Augustus, our *princeps*, had exceeded the *pietas* of all parents."⁸¹ Tiberius' public role is thus in part model father, and the senate even goes on to encourage him to direct his exemplary paternal care toward his surviving heir for the good of Rome: "magnopere rogare et petere, ut omnem curam, quam in duos quondam filios suos partitus erat, ad eum, quem haberet, converteret," "[The senate] eagerly asks and seeks that all the care that [Tiberius] once

78 Lines 159–62.

79 Lines 155–8, 151–4.

80 Lines 155–8, 151–4, and 123–51, respectively.

81 Lines 123–4. "Of all parents," *par<en>tium*, derives from an emendation of *partium*; see David Stone Potter and Cynthia Damon, "The *Senatus consultum de Cn. Pisone Patre*," *American Journal of Philology* 120 (1999): 32.

divided between his sons he direct toward the one whom he [still] has.”⁸² Livia, Antonia, and others also receive praise in the decree based on exemplary family behavior.⁸³ The imperial family had become a public institution, and its creation was changing the nature of Roman public life itself.

Conclusions

In the poetry, imagery, official language, and ceremony of the period just before the death of Augustus into the early years of Tiberius’ sole rule, we can see the formulation of the imperial house as a state institution. The early stages of recognizing this new public entity show a great deal of experimentation. Ovid tried out different names over time, identifying the family group with the name “Caesar” and then switching to “August.” Some communities preferred *gens Iulia* to *domus Augusta* in honor of local associations with the Aeneas legend. Divinity was often employed to mark the group’s superhuman status and assert the appropriateness of its power in the community, but in a wide variety of ways; associations ranged from literary allusions to the deification of Augustus and Livia to adaptations of actual forms of imperial cult to include the entire house.

Now that political authority explicitly flowed from a family position as well, terms and roles from the Roman family began to emerge in evaluations of public figures and in discussions of politics. Ovid’s poetry and senatorial decrees praise Tiberius as a model father and Livia as an exemplary wife. The term *pietas* came to be used not only to describe the familial virtue for which Tiberius was exemplary, but also to describe the loyalty of the *plebs* and the military to the imperial house and thus to Rome. In 22–23 C.E., Drusus the Younger was even celebrated as a worthy imperial heir through reference to this newly political notion of familial devotion; coins were minted with his name, “Drusus Caesar, son of Tiberius Augustus” on one side and a personification of *Pietas* on the other (Figure 9.5).

Particularly in this period of transition between the first two emperors, and in the face of the death of so many potential heirs, the concept of the *domus Augusta* allowed emperors and potential successors to come and go without threatening imperial power. Breaking conventions about gender and age in public spaces, this new public art, ceremony, and discourse reveal that in the first few years after Tiberius’ accession the idea of the *res publica* was changing to incorporate an imperial family.

82 Lines 126–7.

83 Lines 123–51.



Figure 9.5 Bronze dupondius, 22–23 C.E. The obverse shows a bust of Pietas which may use a portrait of Drusus' wife Livilla or grandmother Livia. The reverse bears the legend *DRVSVS CAESAR TI AVGVSTI F TR POT ITER*, "Drusus Caesar, son of Tiberius Augustus, again given *tribunicia potestas*," written around the large central letters SC that are standard on bronze coins of this period. *BMC Tiberius* 98. American Numismatic Society 1947.2.419, museum photo.

LIVIA AND GENDER ROLES

These familial images of political authority and the politicization of the imperial family did not come without tensions and conflict. In particular, the combination of the state with a Roman family complicated gender roles, as is well illustrated by a study of Livia. During her son's rule, Livia came into unprecedented public prominence – she received new forms of imperial cult, was featured on state coins, and had influence over important decisions. Usually, scholars explain her appearance in statue groups and coin types as a means of tying her son Tiberius to her husband Augustus.⁸⁴ However, within the traditions of the Roman family, mothers had a respected influence over even their adult children, and Livia's prominence and influence thus also resulted from the unusual status of being a mother within the newly created imperial family. The creative combining of familial and civic traditions which we have just been exploring offered Livia space to shape new roles for herself and other women in Roman public life. Livia maximized the opportunities offered her within the changing political structure, creating conflicts between her expectations and ambitions, Tiberius' need to be seen as the head of state, and even societal concerns about public roles for women. Tacitus and others provide ample evidence for continual tension along these lines now that an imperial family was the clear locus of power in Rome; nevertheless, Livia and her contemporaries witnessed and shaped important changes in the public roles of aristocratic women during her son's reign.

A brief history of the public presentation of the women of Augustus' family

84 Cf. Corbier, "Male Power"; Rose, *Dynastic Commemoration*, 22–3; Wood, *Imperial Women*, 108–9.

puts the prominence of Livia during Tiberius's rule in perspective.⁸⁵ As discussed in Chapter 2, in contrast to the conspicuous public roles played by the female relatives of the triumvirs, Augustus deliberately kept women out of public imagery in the first fifteen years of his sole rule as part of his restoration of an ideally ordered *res publica*. Between 12 and 9 B.C.E., however, women of his family briefly appeared on coins,⁸⁶ on monuments such as the Ara Pacis, and in public statues,⁸⁷ during the early stages of Augustus' presentation of his role in the state as that of a father; images of women and children iconographically helped articulate his paternal role in society. Subsequent expressions of Augustus as a *pater* did not use images of women, however, and, for example, the women of his house are conspicuously absent from the *Forum Augustum*, dedicated in 2 B.C.E.⁸⁸ Livia was prominent inside the imperial house and active in the restoration of shrines and the foundation of cults which might promote her and her family, but she only infrequently appeared in public imagery.

Others observed this reticence to depict and monumentalize Augustus' female relatives during his lifetime. The identification of no sculptural portraits of his sister Octavia or daughter Julia have been widely accepted by scholars,⁸⁹ although epigraphic evidence confirms Julia's inclusion in some statuary groups in the Greek-speaking east.⁹⁰ As for Livia, Rose notes that her "surviving portraits and inscriptions in the west are few in number by comparison with the men, and not many of them can be securely dated within the Augustan period."⁹¹ In the east, local traditions of ruler cult included the king's female relatives, and sculptural production in general was well established, so Julia and Livia's presence in public art there is unsurprising. But their relative invisibility elsewhere is remarkable, and continues in coin images – no clearly identifiable portraits even of Livia are known from official Roman mints during Augustus' lifetime,⁹² although local coins were struck with her image in the provinces during this period.⁹³ Livia's absence in Italy

85 See especially Bartman, *Portraits of Livia*, 72–101; Wood, *Imperial Women*, 27–108; Flory, "Livia;" and Purcell, "Livia."

86 Fullerton, "*Domus Augusti*," 475–6.

87 Dio 55.2.5.

88 Evidence survives of one draped female figure among the *summi viri* of the colonnades, but her identity is unknown; *Forum Augustum* inv. 2578; Bartman, *Portraits of Livia*, 79; Lucrezi Ungaro and Marina Milella, *I luoghi del consenso imperiale. Il Foro di Augusto, Il Foro di Traiano* (Rome: Progetti museali, 1995), Figs 80–1.

89 Wood, *Imperial Women*, 27, cf. 27–74.

90 Wood, *Imperial Women*, 29; *DCIP* 70, 76, 82, 87, 91, 92, 95, 112, 122.

91 *Dynastic Commemoration*, 21, n. 152; cf. Bartman, *Portraits of Livia*, 72–3.

92 Wood, *Imperial Women*, 87–9.

93 Rose, *Dynastic Commemoration*, 21, nn. 153–5; Wood, *Imperial Women*, 89–90.

and the west is noteworthy,⁹⁴ as is the general scarcity of images of Octavia and Julia.

Similarly, very few references can be found to Octavia, Julia or Livia in the literature written during Augustus' lifetime. We meet no women of the house in Vergil's presentation of the great Julians in Book Six of the *Aeneid*. Even Ovid's early references to Augustus' wife avoid using her name,⁹⁵ although he experiments with terms to honor her, such as *femina princeps*,⁹⁶ a phrase also found in the difficult-to-date "Consolatio ad Liviam."⁹⁷ Livia's only other appearance in Augustan literature is as Augustus' unnamed *mulier*, an unflattering term for a wife, in Horace's poem *Ode* 3.14.⁹⁸ Augustus himself mentions no female relatives in his autobiographical *Res Gestae*, while, of the Augustan monuments in Rome, only the Ara Pacis depicts women of his house as part of a dynastic group. The role of the women of the imperial family in public was unclear and under negotiation during Augustus' lifetime.

In contrast, after Augustus' death, Livia quickly developed a more overt presence in a wide variety of public forms.⁹⁹ Ovid's references to her by name increase dramatically.¹⁰⁰ Her portrait was featured in statue groups of the imperial family all over Italy and the empire,¹⁰¹ and new rites of the imperial cult were developed to include and honor her.¹⁰² New provincial coin types presented her image from Gaul to Byzantium, and the state mint at Lugdunum issued a set of bronze coins with her portrait and new names (Figure 9.6).¹⁰³ Finally, the Roman senate voted her or considered voting her a number of unprecedented honors, including the titles "Parens" or "Mater Patriae," "Parent" or "Mother of the Fatherland," and attendance by a magisterial licitor.¹⁰⁴

94 Bartman, *Portraits of Livia*, 72–8, challenges this common scholarly opinion that Livia's portraits were not widely distributed in Italy and the west, an opinion based on literary testimonia and epigraphic evidence; however, the portrait heads she collects to counter this, although forming a decisive stylistic group, cannot be firmly dated.

95 Flory, "Dynastic Ideology," 296; *Metamorphoses* 15.836, *Fasti* 1.649–50.

96 *Letters from Pontus* 3.1.125.

97 303; cf. Schoonhoven, *Ad Liviam*, 22–39.

98 Flory, "Dynastic Ideology," 296, n. 28.

99 Flory, "Dynastic Ideology," 298–9; Wood, *Imperial Women*, 108–24; Bartman, *Portraits of Livia*, 102–17.

100 Flory, "Dynastic Ideology," 295–6; *Fasti*: 1.529–37; *Tristia*: 4.2.1–14; *Letters from Pontus*: 2.2.67–75; 2.8.1–10; 3.3.84–92; 4.9.105–11.

101 E.g., *DCIP* 25, 51, 52, 102. Flory, "Dynastic Ideology," 300, n. 42, observes: "My own study of inscribed statue bases for Livia from all over the Roman world shows twenty-four dedications after her husband's death in comparison with fourteen before it."

102 E.g., *DCIP* 8, 11, 74.

103 *RPC* 66–7, 73, 538, 986, 1779, 2126, 2345–6, 2368, 4049; collected by Rose, *Dynastic Commemoration*, 23, n. 15; *RIC* 21–4.

104 Tacitus *Annals* 1.14.2, Suetonius *Tiberius* 50.3.

The question arises – why was Livia featured so prominently early in Tiberius’ reign? Scholars often interpret her presence as a form of physical connection between her husband Augustus and her son Tiberius, and thus her prominence early in the latter’s reign is a feature of Tiberian propaganda. Flory thus calls Livia a “linchpin,” “a virtual political necessity,” and explains the statue groups which include her as representations of “the line of succession and the woman who links that line to Augustus.”¹⁰⁵ However, within Roman conceptions of family and lineage, adoption was a well-respected means of forming a familial connection between men.¹⁰⁶ Thus, for example, Livia was not advertised in the propaganda surrounding Tiberius’ adoption in 4 C.E., even though this was a significant moment in the formulation of the family. Moreover, she is not found in all statue groups – some feature only Augustus and Tiberius, others only Tiberius, Germanicus, and Drusus.¹⁰⁷ Ovid’s construction of the imperial line in Carmentis’ prophecy is similar:

... penes Augustos patriae tutela manebit:
 hanc fas imperii frena tenere domum.
 inde nepos natusque dei, licet ipse recuset,
 pondera caelesti mente paterna feret;
 utque ego perpetuis olim sacrabor in aris,
 sic Augusta novum Iulia numen erit.

... the guardianship of the fatherland will remain in the power of the Augusti:

it is right that this *domus* hold the reins of the empire.
 From here the grandson and son of a god, although he himself may refuse,
 will bear his father’s burdens with a celestial mind;
 and just as I shall one day be worshiped at perpetual altars,
 so Julia Augusta will be a new divinity.¹⁰⁸

Livia’s impending divinity is an afterthought to Tiberius’ inheritance of imperial authority, and his status as Augustus’ son is not dependent upon her. Livia’s inclusion in images and cults was not a political necessity, but a choice. After all, if Livia’s public prominence bolstered the position of Tiberius, why did he oppose so many of the public honors proposed for her by the senate?¹⁰⁹ Tiberius did not see Livia’s public status as necessary to his own – if anything,

105 “Dynastic Ideology,” 297, 303, 293; cf. Corbier “Male Power”; Wood, *Imperial Women*, 108.

106 Cf. Corbier “Constructing Kinship” and “Divorce and Adoption”; Prévost, “Adoptions politiques”; Polybius 31.26–8.

107 *DCIP* 77, 56.

108 *Fasti* 1.531–7.

109 Tacitus *Annals* 1.14.2, Suetonius *Tiberius* 50.3, 51.2, Dio 58.2.6.

he perceived her as a problem or perhaps even a threat. We must look elsewhere for explanations of Livia's conspicuous public presence during this period.

A distinct possibility is that Livia was important in her own right, and that these images and ceremonies recognized and reinforced her authority. A woman's traditional caretakership of the Roman household brought Livia into an unusually public position in the context of the developing imperial family. For example, Livia would have helped organize and supervise the imperial slaves and freedmen who increasingly participated in public administration under Augustus,¹¹⁰ and we know that she inherited several of these administrators upon his death.¹¹¹ As the wife of the first emperor and the mother of the second, Livia also had important access to power. Recall that among the Roman matron's most important familial duties was intercession between those inside and outside her family; during the republic, this sort of power-brokering was among the many *beneficia* which women performed to create alliance networks among the political elite.¹¹² In turn, modern scholars have observed that these informal networks came to be of even greater importance during the imperial period, when power was concentrated in the hands of even fewer persons.¹¹³ A socially competent Roman matron could make great use of this to carve out a position of influence for herself.¹¹⁴ We have many references to Livia's patronage of Roman senators,¹¹⁵ provincial cities and local aristocrats,¹¹⁶ and individuals like Ovid.¹¹⁷

Moreover, Livia invented new ways of extending patronage in the social and political dynamics of the early principate; for example, she provided dowries for women not of her own family and financially supported childraising.¹¹⁸ Unlike her republican counterparts, Livia traveled with Augustus to the provinces, setting a new tradition for the wives of imperial and senatorial administrators.¹¹⁹ In the way that men had always done, she thus created the personal contacts among the provincial and foreign elite through which Roman authority was often administered abroad. Evidence for Livia's continuing ties

110 See above, Chapter 6.

111 For example, *CIL* 6.4770, 14843, 8913, 4358, 5226, 5316, 5745, 8989, 9066, 33275, 37661; see Weaver, *Familia Caesaris*, 62.

112 See above, Chapter 1.

113 Richard P. Saller, *Personal Patronage under the Early Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982); Andrew Wallace-Hadrill, "Patronage in Roman Society: From Republic to Empire," in *Patronage in Roman Society* (London: Routledge, 1989), 63–88; Millar, "Ovid," 10.

114 Suetonius *Tiberius* 50, Seneca *On Clemency* 1.9.6–7, Dio 55.14–22, 58.2.5.

115 *SC de Pisone* 109–20, Suetonius *Tiberius* 51.2, Dio 58.2.3.

116 Dio 57.12.2, Tacitus *Annals* 2.42, Josephus *Jewish War* 1.28.6, *Jewish Antiquities* 17.1.1.

117 *Letters from Pontus* 3.1.114–7.

118 Dio 58.2.3.

119 Tacitus *Annals* 3.34.6; cf. Seneca *Dialogues* 6.4.3. As the empire developed, other kinds of opportunities arose for imperial women in practice. For example, in accordance with the new tradition of traveling wives, Agrippina lived with her general husband and their children in

includes her inheritance of property from Salome, the sister of King Herod of Judea,¹²⁰ slaves in her household who had formerly belonged to Kings Amyntas, Archelaus, Herod, and Juba,¹²¹ and letters and embassies to her from the cities of Samos, Sparta, and nearby Gytheum.¹²² Livia's powerful friends and clients were remarked upon frequently.¹²³

When senators and foreign cities created statues, titles, and cult forms to honor Livia, they may well have been recognizing her work and influence, not just her parentage of Tiberius. We can see this whole process in the case of the Peloponnese city of Gytheum, which Livia favored as a result of the city's assistance to her during the triumviral wars.¹²⁴ As noted above, after Augustus' death, Gytheum widely expanded a local festival to include honors for Augustus, Tiberius, Livia, Germanicus, and Drusus.¹²⁵ When the ambassador from Gytheum came to Rome to announce his city's new forms of imperial cult, he visited both Tiberius and Livia personally.¹²⁶ Moreover, we have Tiberius' response to this embassy, in which he declines to speak on behalf of his mother, who, he writes, will answer separately.¹²⁷ In this social and political drama and the statues and ceremonies it produced, Livia cannot be read *only* as a symbolic connector of Tiberius to Augustus.¹²⁸

The *Senatorial Decree about Gnaeus Piso the Father*, discussed above, reveals some of the tensions resulting from this new political reality. The section in which the senators praise the individual women of the imperial house is particularly illuminating. In the new conception of the state, some women, such as Livia, outranked even aristocratic men – a situation not in keeping with traditional aristocratic sensibilities. The authors of the decree try to understand this and make it seem appropriate by praising the women for their

the Roman military camps of the German frontier for several years. Her family became a focus of loyalty to the imperial family and the state among the legions, a loyalty which could be manipulated by her personally if necessary. In Tacitus' presentation, her presence and dramatic departure from camp with her children ended the rebellion among the German legions in 14 C.E.; *Annals* 1.38–44.

120 Josephus *Jewish Antiquities* 18.31.

121 *CIL* 6.8894, 4035, 8738, 10395; 4776, 5872; 9005; 5754, 9046; Weaver, *Familia Caesaris*, 213, n. 1.

122 Rose, *Dynastic Commemoration*, 23; Dio 54.7.2, Suetonius *Tiberius* 6.2; cf. Dio 48.52.4, 57.12.2.

123 Suetonius *Augustus* 40, *Galba* 5.2, *Otho* 1, Tacitus *Annals* 3.24, 4.21, 5.1–2, Macrobius *Saturnalia* 2.5.6, *CIL* 12.5842.

124 Dio 54.7.2, Suetonius *Tiberius* 6.2.

125 *SEG* 11.922–3, *DCIP* 74.

126 *SEG* 11.923.10–15.

127 *SEG* 11.923.20.

128 Compare how Forum Clodii included Livia in their new forms of imperial cult; while open public banquets were held in the city on the birthdays of Augustus and Tiberius, public funds were used to provide wine and honey cakes for the female worshipers of Bona Dea on the anniversary of Livia's birth; *CIL* 11.3303, *DCIP* 11.

traditionally and stereotypically female characteristics, that is, for their domestic virtues – Agrippina, for her many children; Antonia for being an *univira* and having refined manners; and Livilla for the good opinion held of her by Livia and Tiberius.¹²⁹ These are not new roles nor new reasons for women to be praised; however, official recognition of them is new, and reflects their family's new status in Roman society. More than that, however, we can observe the senatorial authors trying to create a way to talk about people politely in a political structure which did not obey Roman notions of gender, and perhaps even shaping new roles for women in public life in the process.

The same tensions drive the presentation of Livia in the decree. In the section concerning Plancina, the conspirator Piso's wife, the senators openly recognize Livia's role in obtaining her pardon:

Quod ad Plancinae causam pertineret, [c]ui plurima et gravissima crimina obiecta essent, quoniam confiteretur, se omnem spem in misericordia[m] principis nostri et senatus habere, et saepe princeps noster accurateq(ue) ab eo ordine petierit, ut contentus senatus Cn. Pisonis patris poena uxori [e]ius sic uti M. filio parceret, et pro Plancina rogatu matris suae deprecari se+et, quam ob rem [id] mater sua inpetrar[e] vellet, iustissimas ab ea causas sibi expositas acceperit, senatum arbitrari et Iuliae Aug(ustae) optume de r(e) p(ublica) merita non partu tantum modo principis nostri, sed etiam multis magnisq(ue) erga cuiusq(ue) ordinis homines beneficis, quae cum iure meritoq(ue) plurimum posse<t> in eo, quod a senatu petere deberet, parcissime uteretur eo, et principis nostri summa<e> erga matrem suam pietati suffragandum indulgendumq(ue) esse remittiq(ue) poenam Plancinae placere.

As pertains to the case of Plancina, who was accused of the most grave crimes, since she confessed that she held all her hope in the mercy of our *princeps* and the senate, and often our *princeps* specifically sought from this order that the senate be content with the punishments of Cn. Piso the father and spare his wife, just as [it did] Marcus his son, and since he interceded on behalf of Plancina at the request of his own mother, because he accepted the most just reasons laid out by her to him as to why his mother wanted this to be accomplished, the senate decides that, both for Julia Augusta, most deserving of the *res publica* not only for the birth of our *princeps*, but also for her many and great favors to men of each order, who, when she is justly and deservedly most able to seek out from the senate that which she ought, scarcely makes use of it, and for the supreme *pietas* of our *princeps* toward his

129 Lines 137–45.

mother, [the senate decides that] it must be supported and conceded, and it seems best to remit the punishment of Plancina.¹³⁰

Livia's level of influence in this matter, which horrified Tacitus, is rhetorically justified in the document in two ways: (1) because she performed many *beneficia* for men of all orders and (2) because she was the mother of the *princeps*, and it is appropriate for a man to be dutiful to his mother.

Again, these are not new roles for Roman women. Suzanne Dixon's analysis of the Roman mother has shown her to be a formidable and respected figure within the Roman family.¹³¹ Moreover, a woman's wielding of influence on behalf of or through male relatives was nothing new. But the context of these activities is critical – even though such roles sometimes brought republican matrons into what we might think of as the public sphere, they were playing behind-the-scenes, familial, and private roles as the Romans defined them. But Livia's situation was complicated by the status of her family. In asking her son to protect her friend, she was operating within the family sphere, but because her son was the emperor and the imperial family part of the state, she was operating within the political sphere as well.

The same paradox occurs in Livia's relationship with the senators. Women who did favors incurred debts of gratitude from the men and women for whom they acted; it is not surprising that even senators were indebted to Livia for her *beneficia*. What is surprising is the formal recognition of these debts to a woman in a senatorial decree.¹³² The senators try to resolve this tension by emphasizing Livia's family position and by clarifying that although many of them were indebted to Livia, she did not approach the senate directly – Tiberius asked for the pardon "at his mother's request." But tension remained, perhaps reflected in the fact that this is one of the most convoluted and difficult sections in the decree. We might note that both the unknown author of the "Consolatio ad Liviam" and Velleius also praise Livia for her careful and prudent use of power – demonstrating that her unusual status was of continuing concern.¹³³ In being celebrated in a public document of 20 C.E., Livia's family roles were raised to a new, public status in Roman society. She herself, by virtue of being a mother in the imperial family, had become a public figure. The official language of the decree is, in turn, adapting to this changing political situation by emphasizing the appropriateness and domesticity of these roles for a woman, even while unprecedentedly recognizing her political importance in the process.

The intertwining traditions of family and state in the developing imperial

130 Lines 109–20.

131 *Roman Mother*, 168–209.

132 Line 117.

133 "Consolatio ad Liviam," 47–50, Velleius 2.130.5.

system created other unusual opportunities for the women of the imperial house. When her grandson Germanicus died in 19 C.E., Livia and his mother Antonia attended the senate meeting to discuss his posthumous honors.¹³⁴ A funeral was a family matter, and mourning by female relatives was considered a particularly important aspect of Roman memorial services; however, in this situation, Livia's important role in her family brought her into the public space of the senate.

Livia's stature helps us interpret innovations in public imagery from this period as well. In particular, between 21 and 23 C.E. a set of coins was minted honoring and picturing Julia Augusta. One sestertius, shown in Figure 9.6, bears an obverse portrait of Tiberius with the titulature TI CAESAR DIVI AUG F AUGUST P M TR POT XXIII, "Tiberius Caesar, son of the deified Augustus, *pontifex maximus* and holder of tribunician power for 24 years."¹³⁵ The reverse, however, shows the carriage voted as an honor to his mother, as is clarified by the legend SPQR IULIAE AUGUST, "the senate and the Roman people [vote this] to Julia Augusta." The coin marks Livia's right to travel in a carriage, a rare but traditional mark of honor for aristocratic women serving as priestesses. This is the first time, however, a Roman coin legend named a woman,¹³⁶ and the first time a coin type featured a female-gendered image such as the *carpentum* to celebrate a woman's role in the public sphere. Livia's public status is also emphasized by the inscription, which memorializes the fact that the SPQR honored Julia Augusta with this carriage.¹³⁷

Another coin in the series features the bust of a woman with the legend SALUS AUGUSTA (Figure 9.7).¹³⁸ "Salus" is a feminine noun meaning "health" or "safety," and thus "Augusta" serves as a play on words, using Livia's new name as an adjective modifying "salus" and to identify her portrait. In this case, not only do we have a living, historical woman depicted on an official product of the state, she is presented as its protector, a guarantor of the state's health and well-being.¹³⁹ By virtue of her role as a mother in the imperial family and on account of the personal authority she had managed to create from it, Livia had become responsible for the *res publica* and thus appropriately celebrated in the public space of Roman coinage.

Although its origin cannot be dated, another story about Livia deserves mention in this context, for it further illustrates her blurring of the once

134 *Tabula Siarensis* 1.6–8.

135 *RIC* 1², 97 nos. 50–1.

136 Rose, *Dynastic Commemoration*, 28.

137 Cf. Wood, *Imperial Women*, 82.

138 *RIC* 1², 97 no. 47.

139 On *salus* as communal rather than personal health, see Lorenz Winkler, *Salus: vom Staatskult zur politischen Idee, eine archäologische Untersuchung*, ed. Tonio Hölscher (Heidelberg: Verlag Archäologie und Geschichte, 1995), 40–4, 48–9. For the full argument that the personification of Salus on this coin is a portrait of Livia, see Wood, *Imperial Women*, 109–10.



Figure 9.6 Obverse of a bronze sestertius, 22–23 C.E. The legend reads SPQR JULIAE AVGVST, “the senate and the Roman people [vote this] to Julia Augusta.” The image specifies what was voted her, namely use of the ceremonial mule cart used by special priestesses. The reverse lists Tiberius’ titulature. *BMC Tiberius* 78. Photo © Copyright The British Museum.



Figure 9.7 Obverse of a bronze dupondius, 22–23 C.E. A female bust is shown, labeled SALVS AVGVSTA, “August Well-Being.” The legend plays on Livia’s name Augusta, and her portrait is used in the image, as well. *BMC Tiberius* 81. American Numismatic Society 1905.57.287, museum photo.

gendered lines between public and private in Roman political life.¹⁴⁰ Pliny, Suetonius, and Dio report that a hen dropped a laurel branch into Livia’s lap at one of her villas or part of a villa called *Ad Gallinas*, “near the chickens.”¹⁴¹ When planted, the branch grew abundantly, and the resulting grove provided the laurel for triumphal crowns thereafter, or at least until the ill-omened death of the grove under Nero. Since all of the Julio-Claudian emperors after Augustus (Tiberius, Caligula, Claudius, and Nero) were Livia’s descendants, the tale is an eloquent omen and allegory of her success. Because of the association with the triumph, moreover, the message of the story and the tradition associated with it was also that Livia’s protection of the state even extended into the military, the most masculine aspect of public life. Victory literally grew from her home. Ovid and the unknown author of the “*Consolatio ad*

140 Cf. Bartman, *Portraits of Livia*, 84; Wood, *Imperial Women*, 103–4.

141 Pliny *Natural History* 15.137, Suetonius *Galba* 1, Dio 48.52.

Liviam” also describe her preparing a chariot for a triumphal procession, perhaps confirming Livia’s direct participation in these military parades.¹⁴²

Interestingly, the association of women with military triumph extended to other members of the imperial house. In c. 23 C.E. new dedications were made at the Temple of Augustus and Roma in the old forum at Leptis Magna.¹⁴³ The statue groups set up to honor the fallen imperial princes Germanicus and Drusus the Younger present the men in chariots and accompanied by their mothers and wives. In addition, the town erected four colossal statues of individuals of towering importance, akin to gods – Augustus, Dea Roma, Tiberius, and (Livia) Julia Augusta.¹⁴⁴

At Livia’s death in 29 C.E., the senate voted her another honor that challenged the gender conventions of Roman public life – an arch.¹⁴⁵ The arch was traditionally a triumphal monument, one which had come to celebrate the victories of a whole family of men in the republic, but had been adapted as a funeral monument to honor fallen young men of the imperial house, including Drusus the Elder, Gaius, Germanicus, and probably Drusus the Younger. Imagining a monument for Livia in the form which had been used to celebrate public service in the extremely male realm of the military confirmed the imperial monopoly over the military and victory.¹⁴⁶ Even more, however, the proposed arch for Livia reveals the complete redefinition of public service, public and private gender roles, and the other lines between family and state which had come with the imperial system.

Constant tensions and negotiations attended the career of Livia. Her posthumous arch was never built, and many other public honors were denied her by her son before and after her death.¹⁴⁷ However, she was publicly commemorated as few other women in the history of Rome. In the context of the development of an imperial house, the traditions of the Roman family and contemporary emphasis on family values created space in public discourse and ideology for Livia as a mother of the state. Livia’s authority increased when her son became *princeps*, and public statues, forms of imperial cult, and an influence on public affairs resulted. Tiberius may have denied her the official honor, but the citizens of Leptis Magna used the title on their coins even so: “AUGUSTA MATER PATRIAE.”¹⁴⁸ That she created a lasting public role is reflected in the later history of the name “Augusta,” which was given essentially to the

142 *Letters from Pontus* 3.4.95, “Consolatio ad Liviam,” 25–6.

143 Walter Trillmich, “Der Germanicus-Bogen in Rom und das Monument für Germanicus und Drusus in Leptis Magna,” in *Estudios sobre la Tabula Siarensis, Anejos de Archivo Español de Arqueología* (Madrid: C.S.I.C., 1988), 51–60.

144 Wood, *Imperial Women*, 110–11.

145 Dio 58.2.3; Flory, “Dynastic Ideology,” 300–1; Fred Kleiner, “An Extraordinary Posthumous Honor for Livia,” *Athenaeum* 78 (1990): 508–14.

146 Flory, “Dynastic Ideology,” 302.

147 Tacitus *Annals* 5.1–3, Suetonius *Caligula* 10.1, 16.3, Dio 58.2.1–3.

148 Wood, *Imperial Women*, 90; *BMCRE* 1, cxxxvi.

mothers of emperors in the Julio-Claudian dynasty.¹⁴⁹ Livia's public prominence reveals that her family was now the locus of power in Rome, and that the nature of public life had been dramatically transformed by the intersection of familial and civic institutions during her lifetime.

PUBLIC AND PRIVATE AMONG THE NON-IMPERIAL ELITE

The members of the imperial family were not the only ones to see the relationship between their public and private lives redefined as part of the transition from an oligarchy to a monarchy. Other members of the aristocracy besides Livia found their family positions newly intertwined with their roles in the community, and it is with evidence for these changes that we shall conclude.

First we return again to the *Senatus Consultum de Pisone Patre*, which has already provided much useful evidence for official rhetoric and ideology in 20 C.E. We have not yet observed, however, that the Piso of the decree's title is not the only one whose trial is recorded here – charges against his wife Plancina, their sons, and two friends are also addressed. Almost Piso's entire family is in fact put on trial. Moreover, because one of these sons was named after his father, the primary defendant is identified throughout the document as *Piso Pater*, Piso the Father. Now that family duties and obligations had become an accepted and even necessary part of evaluations of public figures, part of the rhetoric of this decree is in fact to argue that among Piso's public crimes was his failure as a father.¹⁵⁰

In this light, note that Piso's punishment largely consisted of his removal from his family – his female relatives were not allowed to mourn him, and his *imago*, or death mask, was not to be carried in any funeral processions or set up by any Calpurnii.¹⁵¹ Some creativity was necessary, as Piso had already taken his own life, so the senate did not have the option of executing him.¹⁵² But consider the interesting way his property was treated: the senate confiscated his estate, then redistributed it as inheritance and dowry to his sons and granddaughter "in the name of the *princeps* and the senate." The emperor and the senate thus replaced Piso as head of his family. The senators requested that the son named Gnaeus after his father change his *praenomen* to emphasize this break.¹⁵³

Not only is Piso punished by being cut out of family commemoration and

149 Flory, "Dynastic Ideology," 298; Suetonius *Caligula* 15.2, *Claudius* 11.2 Dio 59.3.3, Tacitus *Annals* 12.26.1, Tacitus *Histories* 2.89.

150 Cf. Severy, "Family and State," 331–3.

151 Lines 70–90.

152 Cf. John Bodel, "Punishing Piso," *American Journal of Philology* 120 (1999): 43–63.

153 Lines 99–100.

lines of inheritance, the emperor and senate have taken over some of these familial roles for the good of the empire. A short passage describing a woodland in Illyria exempted from the redistribution of Piso's property clarifies the point. Tiberius personally assumed control of the land:

quod <civitates>, quarum fines h[un]<c> saltu[m] contingerent, frequenter de iniuris Cn. Pisonis patris libertorumq(ue) et servorum eius questae essent, atq(ue) ob id profidendum putaret, ne posteo iure meritoq(ue) soci p(opuli) R(omani) queri possent.

because those peoples whose borders touch this woodland frequently complained of injury from Cn. Piso the Father and his freedmen and slaves, and on account of this [Tiberius] thought provision should be made lest the allies of the Roman people be able to make just and deserving complaint.¹⁵⁴

That is, the emperor must take over as the *pater* of this estate in order to protect the relations between Rome and its allies. The trial of Piso's whole family works in the same way. Piso had been unable to control them and serve as their father properly; therefore, he is removed, and Tiberius and the senate look after his dependants for the good of the *res publica*. The emperor's status as the ultimate *pater* of the family of state is also emphasized by the passage of this decree in the Temple of Apollo on the Palatine, the temple physically built into the private house of Augustus.

That charges were made against Plancina in addition to her husband Piso in this affair is indicative of another new trend in the principate – the charging of aristocratic women with political crimes. In the republic, women appeared or were invoked in court in politically charged cases as part of the competition between their male relatives. However, the nature of political life had changed. Positions of prestige and opportunities for social and economic enrichment were dispensed by a small imperial circle rather than by an electorate,¹⁵⁵ and women could participate in this game of influence and connections just as well as men. Thus, “inconvenient aristocratic women” began to draw charges directly.¹⁵⁶ Adultery was a common accusation, having been made a state crime by Augustus and rhetorically defined as a type of treason. That the charge of adultery was used against individual women of the court, both inside and outside the imperial family, reveals the political status to which some

154 Lines 84–90.

155 Wallace-Hadrill, “Patronage;” Saller, *Personal Patronage*; Fergus Millar, *The Emperor in the Roman World* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1977).

156 Edwards, *Politics of Immorality*, 62; Anthony J. Marshall, “Women on Trial before the Roman Senate,” *Échos du Monde Classique/Classical Views* 34 (1990): 333–66; e.g., Tacitus *Annals* 2.50, 4.52, 3.22.

women managed to rise within the new system. Plancina, again, is an excellent illustration – her activities and associations got her into trouble with the senate, trouble which her influence with Livia got her out of.¹⁵⁷

Another reason Plancina became embroiled in the conspiracy charges against her husband Piso, however, is that she had been with him in his service in Syria. This is another critical and underappreciated change in the lives of aristocratic women between the republic and the empire; in imitation of Octavia, Julia, and Livia, women began to travel abroad regularly with husbands serving as or with provincial governors. The women used this opportunity very much in the way that Livia did to make social, economic, and diplomatic contacts among the provincial elite and the courts of client kings. Raepsaet-Charlier documents the presence of wives, daughters, and other female relatives of magistrates across the provinces of the empire; her epigraphic evidence even reveals these women's benefactions and the public honors they received in return.¹⁵⁸

Women of prominent provincial families also imitated the public behavior of aristocratic Roman women. Plancia Magna of Perge provides an excellent, if slightly late, example.¹⁵⁹ Early in the second century C.E., she sponsored an elaborate renovation of a main gateway into her city. An arch and courtyard were decorated with programmatic statues of Olympian gods, the legendary founders of Perge, members of the Roman imperial family, Plancia's father, her brother, and herself, carefully identified by inscription as the donor of the gateway.¹⁶⁰ Plancia was a public priestess and city magistrate, and was honored with the title "daughter of the city."¹⁶¹ Significantly, she also legitimated her public prominence by reference to the status of women in the imperial court in Rome – on the gateway, more women of the contemporary imperial family are honored with statues than men.¹⁶² Nor was Plancia alone in taking the opportunity to participate in the public life of her city. Inscriptional evidence shows that about one-tenth of the honored civic benefactors in the eastern empire were women, and "there were as many benefactresses in the West as in the East."¹⁶³

157 Lines 109–20.

158 M. T. Raepsaet-Charlier, "Épouses et familles de magistrats dans les provinces romaines aux deux premiers siècles de l'Empire," *Historia* 31 (1982): 58–64; cf. Marshall, "Roman Women."

159 Mary Taliaferro Boatwright, "Plancia Magna of Perge: Women's Roles and Status in Roman Asia Minor," in *Women's History and Ancient History*, ed. Sarah B. Pomeroy (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1991), 249–72.

160 A. M. Mansel, "Bericht über Ausgrabungen und Untersuchungen in Pamphylien in den Jahren 1946–1955," *Archäologischer Anzeiger* 71 (1956): 99–120, summarized by Boatwright, "Plancia Magna," 250–1.

161 R. Merkelbach and S. Şahin, "Die publizierten Inschriften von Perge," *Epigraphica Anatolica* 11 (1988): 122–3, nos. 36 and 37.

162 Boatwright, "Plancia Magna," 252.

163 Boatwright, "Plancia Magna," 271, n. 69.

An earlier example of a woman modeling a public presence on that of Livia in particular survives in Pompeii; Eumachia sponsored the construction of the largest of the buildings on the forum (Figure 9.8). With its central, rectangular open space, porticoed gallery and many niches, the basic layout of the Pompeian structure closely resembles the plan of the Porticus Liviae on the Severan marble plan, and the building seems to have served as a public hall, market, and meeting space.¹⁶⁴ The inscription above the entrance from the forum makes the association with Livia's portico and shrine to Concordia in Rome explicit:

Eumachia L(uci) f(ilia) sacerd(os) publ(ica) nomine suo et M(arci) Numistri Frontonis fili . . . cryptam porticus Concordiae Augustae Pietati sua pecunia fecit eademque dedicavit.

Eumachia, daughter of Lucius, a public priestess, in her own name and that of Marcus Numistrus Fronto, her son, built with her own money and dedicated the . . . covered walkway and porticos to August Concord and Pietas.¹⁶⁵

Not only do the structure, deity, and mother/son pairing recall Livia's building in Rome, decorative features evoke other Augustan monuments. Statues and inscriptions of Aeneas and Romulus imitate the rows of statues of great men in the August Forum,¹⁶⁶ and decorative acanthus scrolls in marble relief recall the Ara Pacis. The central niche on the back wall of the main building probably held a portrait of Livia, flanked by statues of Concordia and Pietas. A statue of Eumachia herself (Figure 9.9), however, erected for their patroness by a group of local fullers, was placed in a hallway behind the main structure in alignment with that of Livia.¹⁶⁷

In many ways, Eumachia called attention to her modeling of this public benefaction on the actions of Livia. Her father seems to have been from an old Pompeian family, and her husband served as one of the highest elected officials of the city in 3 C.E.¹⁶⁸ As far as we know, however, neither of these men were commemorated in Eumachia's monument. Instead, Eumachia celebrated herself in this complex, and she tried to pass on this public prominence to her son in the next generation. The nature of her participation in public life was thus very different from the evidence we have of women in the republic, and

164 Richardson, "Concordia," 267–9.

165 *CIL* 10.810.

166 *CIL* 10.808–9.

167 *CIL* 10.813; Kleiner, "Imperial Women," 33; Richardson, "Concordia," 268. Compare the Temple of the Genius of Augustus, also located on the forum in Pompeii, built by Mamia, another public priestess; *CIL* 10.816.

168 Kleiner, "Imperial Women," 33.



Figure 9.8 Opening of the building of Eumachia onto the forum in Pompeii. The carved marble decorating the doorway shows scrolling vegetation filled with wildlife much like the imagery on the lower registers of the Ara Pacis in Rome. A portico in front carries the inscribed dedication by Eumachia. Photo by Sichtermann, courtesy of the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Rome, 66.638.

her explicit and frequent comparison of herself to Livia reveals the role played by the women of Augustus' house in changing the rules for other aristocratic women.

This changing social and political context of the empire, which so prominently featured a Roman family, also affected the self-presentation of men. For example, Tacitus records a discussion in the Tiberian senate about whether or not wives should accompany their husbands on provincial commands.¹⁶⁹ Not only is this story interesting for its public location, but participants in the debate invoke marital accord and affection as public virtues, that is, the speakers present themselves as good men on the grounds that they are good

¹⁶⁹ *Annals* 3.33–4.



Figure 9.9 Statue of Eumachia, erected by a group of fullers and placed prominently in the building sponsored by her along the forum in Pompeii. Naples, Museo Nazionale Archeologico. Photo Alinari/Art Resource, New York, 23091.

husbands with good marriages. Tacitus reveals the relationship between this family-minded self-presentation and the presence of an imperial family through final comments made by Drusus:

Addidit pauca Drusus de matrimonio suo; nam principibus adeunda saepius longinqua imperii. Quoties divum Augustum in Occidentem atque Orientem meavisse comite Livia! Se quoque in Illyricum profectum et, si ita conducatur, alias ad gentis iturum, haud semper aequo animo si ab uxore carissima et tot communium liberorum parente divelleretur. Sic Caecina sententia elusa est.

Drusus added a few things about his own marriage; that *principes* frequently had to visit the furthest reaches of the empire. How often the Divine Augustus went to West and East with Livia as a companion! That he himself went out to Illyricum, and, if it were useful, would go to other nations, but by no means always contentedly if he

were torn apart from his wife, who was most dear to him and the parent of their many shared children. Thus Caecina's motion was evaded.

We should compare the prominence of cases involving familial obligations in the developing male public discourse of declamation,¹⁷⁰ the conspicuousness of family groups on freedpersons' tombs in the Augustan period,¹⁷¹ and the development of the image of a married couple holding hands on later sarcophagi.¹⁷² In the early empire, marriage and family as images and ideals, as well as the quality of an individual's familial relationships, became an increasing part of even men's public life.

Scholars of the Roman family observing these and related phenomena have in fact been engaged in a debate as to whether they demonstrate a change in the affective nature of Roman family relationships over the first to second centuries of the Common Era.¹⁷³ A critical problem, pointed out by other scholars,¹⁷⁴ is that we cannot really document an increase in emotion or affection. What we have is evidence for an increase in the public discussion of children, and in individuals' public avowals of interest in their marriages and families. I would argue that this change is better attributed to the politicization of the family in the Augustan period, and the continuing public status of the imperial family as an institution of the empire. The most important public figures of the day were evaluated and presented in the context of their familial relationships. Under such circumstances, we should be surprised if we did not find increases in the public presentation of children, marriage, and the family.

The family remained a powerful articulation of the relationship of both the imperial house and the emperor himself to the larger community. The emperor's paternal care over Rome was invoked in later periods. Trajan, for example, initiated a welfare program to feed children in *c.* 100 C.E., a

170 Kennedy, *Art of Rhetoric*, 334; Mary Beard, "Looking (Harder) for Roman Myth: Dumézil, Declamation and the Problem of Definition," in *Mythos in mythenloser Gesellschaft. Das Paradigma Roms*, ed. Fritz Graf (Stuttgart and Leipzig: Teubner, 1993), 44–64.

171 Diana E. E. Kleiner, *Roman Group Portraiture: The Funerary Reliefs of the Late Republic and Early Empire* (New York: Garland, 1977) and "Great Friezes."

172 Natalie Boymel Kampen, "Biographical Narration and Roman Funerary Art," *American Journal of Archaeology* 85.1 (1981): 47–58; Glenys Davies, "The Significance of the Handshake Motif in Classical Funerary Art," *American Journal of Archaeology* 89.4 (1985).

173 See Dixon, "Sentimental Ideal"; Rawson, "Adult–Child Relationships"; M. Manson, "The Emergence of the Small Child in Rome (Third Century BC–First Century AD)," *History of Education* 12 (1983): 149–59; and Paul Veyne, "La famille et l'amour sous le haut-empire romain," *Annales: Économies, Sociétés, Civilisations* 33 (1978): 35–63, who use evidence from dolls to laws to tombstones to literature.

174 K. R. Bradley, "Dislocation in the Roman Family," *Historical Reflections/Réflexions Historiques* 14 (1987): 33–62; Saller and Garnsey, *Roman Empire*, 133; Richard P. Saller and B. D. Shaw, "Tombstones and Roman Family Relations in the Principate: Civilians, Soldiers and Slaves," *Journal of Roman Studies* 74 (1984): 135.

campaign celebrated with coin images of children and the goddess Pietas.¹⁷⁵ Familial terms also appeared frequently in honorific titles, from members of the imperial family, such as Faustina *Mater Castrorum*, “Mother of the Legionary Camps,” to citizens called “father of the city,” “son of the city” or “daughter of the city,”¹⁷⁶ or even “mothers” of craft guilds and cult groups.¹⁷⁷

Finally, in his recent analysis of the way Lucan, Seneca, and other authors of the later Julio-Claudian period articulated their ideas about life under an emperor, Matthew Roller draws special attention to these men’s use of the metaphorical relationships between father and son and master and slave.¹⁷⁸ Although Roller’s interest is in how aristocrats communicated their ideas to the emperor and in fact helped conceptualize and (re)shape his autocratic power, we should note that the discourse through which they achieved these goals was grounded in the terms and roles of the Roman family. We may also see such terms in other responses to imperial power, such as the importance of familial terminology in early Christianity. The familial model of government, which resulted from the particular manner in which the imperial system developed under Augustus, had farreaching political, social, and cultural effects on the Roman empire.

CONCLUSIONS

After defeating the last of his rivals in the civil wars in 31 B.C.E., Octavian Augustus experimented with a number of ways of understanding and presenting his own unprecedented position in the state. For the first fifteen years, imagery and rhetoric focused on the idea of returning to the form of the *res publica* which had existed before the wars. Attempts were made to re-create a separate, all-male public sphere, and Augustus defined his own position using magisterial as well as other legal powers and terms reminiscent of the republic. Between the celebration of the Saecular Games in 17 and the dedication of the Ara Pacis in 9 B.C.E., however, Augustus and his contemporaries began to use a different set of images and cultural roles to describe his position – the images and roles of the Roman family.

In this same period, Augustus’ relatives and his family as a group began to

175 Boatwright, “Plancia Magna,” 260.

176 Boatwright, “Plancia Magna,” 260; Riet Van Bremen, “Women and Wealth,” in *Images of Women in Antiquity*, eds Averil Cameron and Amelie Kuhrt (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1983), 233–7.

177 Titles known from across Italy: *CIL* 9.2687, 5450; 11.1355, 5748; 3.1207; 5.4411; 14.69; 13.8244; 3.7505, 7532; Ramsay MacMullen, “Woman in Public in the Roman Empire,” *Historia* 29 (1980): 211.

178 Matthew B. Roller, *Constructing Autocracy. Aristocrats and Emperors in Julio-Claudian Rome* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001), 213–87.

carve out public roles for themselves as models of aristocratic behavior. His sister Octavia built a portico and theater in honor of herself and her son, and in them she restored to public view artwork considered to have been inappropriately hoarded by earlier aristocrats. Agrippa built the first public baths in Rome, and Livia dedicated a shrine to marital accord on land reclaimed for the public from a private mansion. In turn, in the imagery of the Ara Pacis, dedicated in 9 B.C.E., Augustus' entire family of men, women, and children illustrates the success of his legislative inducements to marriage and childrearing. This development of a role in public discourse and imagery coincided with a practical expansion of the family into government; Augustus began to manage the state as republican men had administered their households. His slaves and freedmen managed public finances, his wife hosted foreign ambassadors, his sons and stepsons commanded the Roman armies, and he raised the children of allied kings in his own home.

All of these factors contributed to the institutionalization of the imperial family as part of the Roman state. In 14 C.E., this familial model of government was successfully inherited by a new generation. Statue groups, poetry, and state documents of the early Tiberian period confirm that one Roman family had become a public institution, with new conventions about public roles for women and new ideas about the relationship between family and civic duty. Exploring these complex images and realities of the imperial family adds to our knowledge of the cultural phenomenon of the Roman family, the power of metaphors and images to affect social and political change, and the specific nature of that change between the Roman republic and the empire.

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